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ABSTRACT

This field experiment examined three responses of ninth and tenth grade students to attending symphony performances at school. Responses were attitudes toward the performance, later information seeking about the art form, and interest in obtaining a recording of symphonic works offered four weeks after the concert. Pre-concert experimental manipulations were hypothesized to increase levels of these responses. The main feature of manipulations was distribution of 45 r.p.m. recordings of concert exerpts with a suggestion that students might enjoy listening to the records with friends or family before attending the performance at school. Ten junior and senior high schools were assigned randomly to the three treatment conditions--control, mail distribution and class distribution. Questionnaires were group administered to respondents two days after they had had an opportunity to attend a school concert. The record offer was mailed to respondents at home 30 days after the performance. Results show that the experimental records have the same effects, regardless of distribution method. However, record distribution did not achieve the desired effect of increasing respondents' perception of other persons in their social environment who were thought to enjoy symphonic music. Most important, distribution of records had a clearly negative effect on concert responses--attitudes, information seeking and continued interest in symphony, indexed by responding to the delayed record offer. (Author)

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FINAL REPORT
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INTRODUCING CHILDREN TO THE SYMPHONY: EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF PRE-CONCERT PREPARATION AND PERFORMANCE EFFECTS

Peter Clarke
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SP 005 685

August, 1972

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Abstract

This field experiment examined three responses of ninth and tenth grade students to attending symphony performances at school. Responses were attitudes toward the performance, later information seeking about the art form, and interest in obtaining a recording of symphonic works offered four weeks after the concert.

Pre-concert experimental manipulations were hypothesized to increase levels of these responses. The main feature of manipulations was distribution (by mail or in class) of 45 r.p.m. recordings of concert excerpts. It was suggested to students that they might enjoy listening to the records with friends or family before attending the performance at school.

Ten junior and senior high schools were assigned randomly to the three treatment conditions--control, mail distribution and class distribution. Questionnaires were group administered to respondents two days after they had had an opportunity to attend a school concert. The record offer was mailed to respondents at home 30 days after the performance.

Results show that the experimental records have the same effects, regardless of distribution method. Large numbers of respondents in experimental schools listened to the records before the performance--usually with friends or family. Multiple listening was common. And it appears that attendance rates were higher in experimental schools.

However, record distribution did not achieve the desired effect of increasing respondents' perception of other persons in their social environment who were thought to enjoy symphonic music. Most important, distribution of records had a clearly negative effect on concert responses--attitudes, information seeking and continued interest in symphony, indexed by responding to the delayed record offer.

Correlations are examined between the three concert responses and other music behaviors and interests in order to characterize the large numbers of youngsters who enjoy symphony. Implications of results for educational policy are suggested.

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Seattle, Washington

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INTRODUCTION

The following paper is a final contract report for a project entitled "Introducing Children to the Symphony Experimental Study of Pre-Concert Preparation and Performance Effects." Usually such reports, intended for an audience of fellow researchers, are heavily salted with technical details. This one differs.

It is written to be understood by teachers, performing arts managers, and others concerned with helping young people enjoy symphony. To this end, the report is confined to presenting only those concepts and theory that have direct relevance to how educators and arts groups might use our results.

Central research design and methods are described, but technical details are minimized. Tabular presentation of data is focused on questions of most interest to readers who can utilize findings. Tests for statistical significance are cited, but we have employed the simplest procedures and analytic presentations in order to enhance clarity of results.

More technical and elaborate analyses of results have their place, and will appear in research journals that circulate to those who properly are concerned with methodology and development of theory. For example, a great deal of effort and expense were devoted to coding and analyzing students' sociometric linkages (see p. 1 of the questionnaire) in an effort to trace how social integration affects response to symphony. It turned out that co-orientation concepts (explained below) are much more useful as independent variables. Consequently, this report spares the reader from an excursion through sociometry and the enormous body of that type of data gathered here.

Our experimental research presented opportunities to help the Seattle Symphony evaluate its program content and methods of presentation. Several

such studies were completed. One survey that analyzes the program performed before experimental and control high schools is reproduced as Appendix A to this report. Data were gathered from a high school in one of the districts used for the experimental design.

Appendix B contains a preliminary report analyzing children's information seeking about symphony (appearing originally in the American Behavioral Scientist, January, 1971). Appendix C contains the survey questionnaire used in the main field experiment conducted during Winter and Spring, 1971.

Teachers, students and administrators in several school districts deserve more gratitude for their participation than can be expressed here. We especially thank those in the Highline, Federal Way, Olympia and North Thurston County districts, which served as pre-test and final experimental sites.

EXPERIMENTAL VARIABLES AND HYPOTHESES

This field experiment grew out of a series of surveys inquiring into youngsters' reactions to attending symphony concerts at school (see Clarke, 1970a, and Appendix B for earlier results). The concerts themselves, performed by the Seattle Symphony in a variety of urban and rural schools across Washington state, were made possible by funding from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, PL 89-10. The legislative intent of the Act, and the purpose with which the Symphony sought its funding, was to increase children's access to cultural resources like the performing arts.

Access increased, indeed. In 1966, before the federally-supported cultural enrichment program began, the Seattle Symphony gave 51 school performances before an estimated audience of 91,200 primary and secondary students. In 1971, at the height of the research reported here, 250,000 students were reached with 128 performances. This level of exposure was somewhat less than the annual coverage achieved in the richest years of federal support, 1968-1970.

Concert effects.

While many students have been bused to gymnasia and auditoria to hear symphony, long-range effects of this enterprise remain topics of speculation. The rationale advanced for performing arts programs is that in some way students' lives are "enriched" by contact with the arts. The meaning of enrichment and its behavioral consequences are rarely explained. Do we intend that students' tastes in music will be changed by their brief contact with symphony? Do we intend they will perceive and even enjoy a wider variety of musical sound patterns, or that they will show continued interest in listening

to symphony? Do we intend that some students will enroll in music programs or begin playing instruments as a result of attending performances? Do we intend that after becoming adults these students will attend symphony and ensemble performances?

Measurement of almost all these effects calls for long-range research designs--even longitudinal or panel studies in which the same students are studied over time to determine whether this year's concerts affect next year's, or the next decade's behavior. Such research is costly often out of proportion to what can be learned. It is extremely unlikely that a single 50-minute symphony performance will have discernible effects on many students' lives unless: (1) youngsters exhibit some specified immediate responses to the performance, and (2) there is support in youngsters' environment for favorable short-range as well as long-term behaviors.

Three kinds of responses to the symphony have impressed us as possible preliminaries to most of the long-range consequences one would hope these events would yield. First is liking for the concert itself--having favorable attitudes about the music performed. Second is information seeking about symphony and symphony musicians,having questions in need of answers about the art form and its performers. Third is showing a continued interest in listening to symphony, or making some effort to gain exposure to the music after the orchestra has packed its instrument cases and left.

These immediate, short-range effects are neither obvious targets of measurement, nor easily conceptualized. It is not self-evident, for example, that attitudes toward music performed at concert have predictive validity--that there is any future behavior correlated with enjoying the performance. Much attention has been focused on modest correlations often found between

attitudes and behavior (Festinger, 1964; Rokeach, 1966; Rokeach and Kliejunas, 1972). To achieve any predictive power, we should measure students' attitudes toward the music, and attitudes toward the situation in which they are exposed to the music--a free school concert, requiring little effort to attend, and competing with less attractive opportunities like sitting in study hall.

Since almost none of the long-range consequences of going to concerts will compete against an equivalent situation, even elaborate measurement of music-situation attitudes will not be instructive. We have, nonetheless, asked youngsters how much of the concert music they enjoyed for whatever illumination this evaluation can lend to analysis of short-range effects.

Information seeking about symphony and continued interest in exposure to the music are more behavioral outcomes than attitudes, but the two responses suffer a common problem: There are few institutions set up to satisfy either need. We have studied students' question asking about symphony in many surveys during the past four years. Youngsters feel that almost the only source able to reply to their queries is the Symphony itself (Clarke, 1970c). Yet typically, orchestra members depart immediately from each concert site, depriving students the chance to obtain answers to their questions. Students rarely mention teachers, parents, library sources or other agencies as places to find out what they want to know about symphonic music and the people who perform it.

Continued exposure to the music suffers the same fate. Most youngsters lack access to record libraries, home collections, or classical-format radio stations.

We measure information seeking and continued exposure to symphony as major effects of this field experiment because of their face validity as important

orientations toward the art form. But in measurement, we have had to engineer artificial availabilities for both behaviors--an availability of information about symphony that is difficult to retrieve from any "natural" environment, and an availability of symphonic records that is not matched by existing sources.

It bears emphasis that the face validity of information seeking and continued exposure remains unsubstantiated by any data demonstrating the predictability of future behaviors using these short-range concert responses.

Increasing concert effects.

There are many normative theories about the proper way to prepare young people to experience the performing arts. Some are founded on Rousseau-like assumptions that the arts are "self-explanatory," compatible with "basic human motivations," and need no formal introduction. Others range to the elitist extreme that knowledge about the structure of art forms precedes taste, and taste is essential to enjoyment.[1]

We have skirted battles among these theoretical perspectives by searching for a naturally-occurring social process associated with orientation toward symphony. Having identified such a process, we hoped to develop a method for triggering it. The hypothesized result was increased enjoyment of the school concerts and the two behavioral outcomes--information seeking about the music and continued interest in exposure to symphony.

The social process is coorientation, or the perception of how others orient toward objects in the environment (Newcomb, 1953; Chaffee and McLeod, 1970; Chaffee, 1971; McLeod, 1971). These perceptions--especially the awareness

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[1]Some of these theoretical battles are illustrated by papers appearing in Rosenberg and White (1957); Jacobs (1961); and Rosenberg and White (1971).

of others' likes and dislikes--are powerful reference points for one's own orientations and behavior.

We have demonstrated this in an earlier survey of teenagers' information seeking about symphony after attending school concerts (see Appendix B). Knowing other persons thought to like symphony was a more powerful correlate of post-concert information seeking than respondents' own attitudes toward the music. Even more important, when own attitudes were held constant in the analysis, perceived-likes by others still correlated with information seeking. For example, among youngsters who liked little of the music, knowing someone else who liked almost all of the performance still predicted information seeking.

Other studies are exploring dynamics that help explain why others' perceived likes affect one's own behavior (Clarke, in press; Stamm and Pearce, in press). Some of these explanations rest on the utility of objects, such as symphonic music, for forming impressions of other persons. In the interim, however, we wondered whether coorientation offered a process by which the number of students responding positively to school concerts might be increased. Our logic was twofold:

1) Youngsters with favorable coorientation partners are predisposed to seek symphony information and, one would expect, to show continued interest in hearing the music.

2) Consequently, young persons without favorable coorientation partners may constitute a major share of symphony's untapped market.

Our early surveys suggested that 60 to 70 percent of high school students do not have a parent or a friend at school who is thought to enjoy almost all the music performed at concert.[2] The untapped market is large--perhaps for

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[2]Two conceptual questions need explanation at this point. We focused on concert music when measuring coorientation because this was the only example of the art

two reasons. Symphony may be a visible art form that others are thought to have rejected, or to feel indifferent about. Or, opportunities may never have occurred for youngsters to perceive others' feelings about symphony.

The latter explanation is particularly likely, given the low frequency of symphony performance, compared to other entertainments. Symphony rarely appears on television, radio stations with classical formats are scarce, and symphonic records are not aggressively marketed.

A potential stimulant responsive to this second cause of lack of favorable coorientation is to provide youngsters with opportunities to hear symphony before they attend concerts. If opportunities allow for social listening, increments in favorable coorientation may result.

It is impossible, of course, to guarantee liking of the music. Youngsters and their listening partners control their evaluations, and even a police state cannot compel enjoyment. But we were encouraged to experiment with ways of inducing joint listening to the music by our finding that unfavorable coorientation--feeling that others one knows dislike symphony--seems not to have any negative effect on information seeking (see Appendix B). The risks of inducing pre-concert symphony listening seemed small, and the potential benefits great.

We assume that symphony listening before concerts should observe at least three rules:

---

form that students had experienced in common. Use of the term "symphonic music" would have evoked varied and unknown images of what we were talking about.

Analysis of preliminary survey data disclosed that the best cutting point in our liking scale--which included liking "very little," "some," "most" and "almost all" the concert music--was between "almost all" and other responses.

1) Decision to listen or not listen to the music should rest with each youngster. Social processes that link coorientation to exposure to music may depend on choice.

2) Listening to symphony should be encouraged as social, rather than isolated behavior. Joint listening can lead to verbal and non-verbal communication revealing the feelings of others toward the music.

   Even if positive reactions of others were outweighed by negative, an increment in favorable coorientation might result when listening experiences are aggregated across many youngsters.

3) More than one effort should be made to create opportunities for joint listening, to insure maximum reach.

Pre-concert distribution of symphonic records forms the core of our experimental manipulation to present opportunities for favorable coorientation toward symphony. We suspected that to achieve maximum effect the records should parallel the concert program to which youngsters would be exposed. The records might also have greater impact if they were not distributed via the public school system, with its overtones of social approval and academic coercion. And the suggestion should at least be made that recipients might enjoy listening to symphonic music with others--parents, brothers and sisters or friends at school.

The logic on which this attempt rests is admittedly tenuous. We recognize that joint listening to symphony could seldom be a <u>sufficient</u> cause for coorientation--favorable or unfavorable--to occur. But joint listening might be a <u>necessary</u> condition. It is a necessary condition for a youngster unable or unwilling to infer how others feel about symphony by a labeling process. An example of a labeler is the young person who reasons that "this symphony concert stuff is culture, and all my friends hate that."[3]

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[3]A reminder: The experience with symphony that our students have in common

Two methods of record distribution were tried in this experiment. The least expensive and easiest was to hand out recordings in classes at school. More costly, but less susceptible to any biasing influences of the school climate, was to mail records individually to youngsters at home.

Optimum frequency of record distribution was gauged in an experimental pre-test. Two record distributions prior to the performance was judged the most cost-efficient intensity.

Hypotheses.

Intended effects of experimental manipulations can be quickly summarized:

H_1--Pre-concert listening to symphonic music increases the number of youngsters with favorable coorientation partners.

H_2--As a consequence of increased favorable coorientation, students in schools receiving the experimental manipulation of induced record listening will show greater levels of intended effects--especially information seeking and continued interest in symphony listening.

H_3--The method of record distribution (to induce pre-concert listening) may produce different effects. Distribution by mail, without identification with school, may produce greater effects on coorientation and dependent behaviors--information seeking and continued interest--than distribution in school.

These hypotheses were tested in a field experimental design comparing control schools to two kinds of experimental schools--mail and class distribution. In addition, we measured several factors that were expected to act as contingent conditions affecting the impact of experimental manipulations.

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results from their attendance at specific concerts, and hearing the music performed there. Consequently, coorientation is defined as perceptions of others' attitudes toward this music. Records distributed before concerts should therefore be like the concert program, if coorientation, as defined here, is to have any stimulating effect on concert responses.

Plan of report.

We turn now to a presentation of research methods. This is followed by experimental results--first, a check on effectiveness of experimental manipulations, and then tests of experimental effects. A final section of results presents analyses of non-experimental factors associated with information seeking, interest in continued symphony listening, and attitudes toward concert music. The report ends with conclusions bearing on policy implications of our data.

METHODS

Experimental materials and manipulations.

Meetings with district music supervisors, teachers and individual school administrators were undertaken prior to the field experiment to insure that no pre-concert activities would be undertaken, except our experimental manipulations. Teachers informed students they would have an opportunity to attend a symphony performance, but preparatory materials, including concert programs, were not distributed.

For distribution to experimental schools, we prepared two 45 r.p.m. records containing excerpts from the works students would hear at concert. Since junior and senior high schools were exposed to different concert programs, a total of four pre-concert records had to be prepared.

The first record started with a short introduction:

> This record contains portions of some of the music you will hear at a school concert performed by the Seattle Symphony in the near future.
>
> We hope you enjoy listening to the music. Perhaps your friends, your parents or brothers or sisters would like to listen to this record with you.

The second record's introduction repeated the suggestion of joint listening.

The 45 r.p.m. speed permitted only about ten minutes playing time per disc (including the short introductions), but this speed is most widely suited to teenagers' phonograph equipment.

Professional narration of the introductions was used. Recording excerpts were assembled from commercially available releases using the facilities of an educational FM station. Final record manufacture was contracted to a firm that specializes in this work. Records were labeled and banded so that

youngsters could easily select works of special interest for repeat listening.

Two experimental methods of distribution were used to deliver the first record to students 12-14 days prior to the concert, and the second record 6-8 days before the event. In class distribution schools, record distributors, identified from the University, handed out records to all grade-level classes during a day. Records were not forced on youngsters who preferred not to receive them. A brief message was delivered by record distributors in colloquial form. The basic outline was as follows:

> Hello. I'm (distributor's name). On (date), you will be attending a concert here at school performed by the Seattle Symphony.
>
> Before attending a concert, it's sometimes fun to listen to some of the music that will be played. Recently, the University of Washington received a grant that made it possible to produce some phonograph records containing portions of the music you'll hear at your concert. I'm here today to give each of you a record.
>
> As I pass out the records, check the envelope to make sure everything is there. You'll find a 45 r.p.m. record, a piece of cardboard to protect it, and a short information sheet.
>
> PASS OUT RECORDS
>
> Each side of the record contains some of the music you'll hear at your concert. It is a monaural record, but you can play it on a stereo player if you want.
>
> The record is yours to keep. You might want to listen to it with your parents, your brothers or sisters, or friends.
>
> ASK TEACHER: Are there any students absent from class today? (Leave enough records for them.)

In mail distribution schools, records in pre-stamped envelopes were bundled by ZIP code and deposited with postal stations far enough before target delivery dates to insure arrival at home that matched the results of class distribution. Record envelopes and sleeves were identical for class and mail distributions. Mailed records were accompanied by a message that corresponded

to essentials of the oral message delivered in distribution schools. A card insert read:

> You will be going to a concert soon performed by the Seattle Symphony at your school. We thought you might like to hear some of the music on the program. The record in this envelope contains portions of music that will be performed by the Symphony. The record is yours to keep.
>
> Perhaps your friends, your parents or brothers or sisters would like to listen to the record with you.

Sample and experimental design.

Two adjacent school districts, Highline and Federal Way, were selected as research sites because of their accessibility to the University of Washington and their heterogeneity. Districts serve a predominantly middle-class region that includes suburban residential and shopping centers between Seattle and Tacoma. The school systems are among the six largest in the state.

Ninth-graders in junior high schools and tenth-graders in high schools were designated as experimental subjects in order to maximize the number of school locations and minimize age differences. In addition, data collected earlier among youngsters in other districts between the sixth and eleventh grades suggested that the levels selected for this field experiment exhibit the greatest linkages between coorientation and communication about entertainment experiences. Ten of the eleven junior and senior high schools scheduled to attend a concert were assigned randomly to experimental conditions--control, mail and class-distribution.[4]

---

[4]The eleventh school, a high school, was reserved for evaluation research on concert program content (see Appendix A). Some junior high schools in the districts had attended symphony a year earlier and were not included in this year's program because of limited seating capacities in auditoria where performances were held.

This random assignment resulted in unequal numbers of students assigned to the three conditions. The table below shows numbers of schools in each condition, their grade levels, the concert each school attended and the numbers of students surveyed.

	Grade	Concert no.	N
Control			
Jefferson	10	2	355
Totem	9	7	200
Glacier	10	3	286
Mail			
Federal Way	10	1	438
Sacajawea	9	7	227
Highline	10	6	407
Tyee	10	5	276
Class			
Kilo	9	7	186
Lakota	9	7	253
Evergreen	10	4	366

Questionnaire design and administration.

Two days after symphony performances, trained questionnaire administrators gathered data from schools that had attended. Seven performances had been scheduled over a one-month period to cover all the schools in the two districts. At times, junior highs attended performances on different days than students in the high school serving an overlapping attendance area; consequently, some respondents with ninth or tenth grade siblings received advance notice that a questionnaire would follow the concert. Aside from this overlap, however, students were unaware they would be surveyed until class rescheduling notices a day prior to our visit.

Two general procedures were followed, depending on school administrative convenience. In some schools we surveyed all grade-level classes meeting during a period in the morning. In other schools, larger numbers of students met in survey rooms (usually cafeteria, study halls and the like) during a morning period.

The second procedure risked some of the controls over response monitoring possible in smaller classrooms, even though we assigned greater numbers of survey administrators to aid students.[5] However, analyses comparing schools subjected to the two survey procedures fail to show differences in key variables, or correlations among variables, that can be attributed to procedure.

The survey instrument is reproduced in Appendix C. The project and its data gatherers were identified with the University, and response confidentiality guaranteed. Survey administrators guided students through the questionnaire, section by section.

Respondents were first asked to complete the cover page, to go on to the green page, and to stop there. When all had reached this point, the administrator introduced the blue page asking for favorite musical groups, and explained how to respond to the pop music coorientation items on page 3. Respondents' questions were answered, and they were told to complete the questionnaire.

Administrators answered subsequent questions by talking individually with students who raised their hands. All students completed the schedule within 40 minutes; most finished within 25 minutes.

---

[5]All survey administrators were professional survey interviewers we trained for school data gathering. None of these persons was previously known to students. Teachers were asked to leave classrooms and other survey rooms while questionnaires were administered.

Before questionnaires were collected, students were asked to write their names at the top. This permitted matching each student's questionnaire data to whether or not he sent for an information booklet about symphony, or sent for a symphony record four weeks after the performance (see below).

This effort to cover all grade-level students secured data from 85 to 87 per cent of the universe at each school. The remainder were absent on the survey day, enrolled in advanced or remedial programs geographically separated from the school, or on field trips.

Measurement of key variables.

Procedures for measuring major variables will be outlined here, with reference to the questionnaire in Appendix C. Operations for some of the variables introduced in the section on correlational analysis (see discussion of non-experimental results below) will be explained there.

* Experimental effects, or dependent measures. Information seeking about symphony is a combination of two highly-related behaviors. One is a booklet offer presented on p. 10 of the questionnaire. Respondents could send for a pamphlet, "Listening to Symphonies--a guide to understanding and enjoying symphonic music," or "Seattle Symphony Musicians--how they got their training, and how they work."

We prepared these materials with the aid of the Symphony's general manager and several of its artistic staff, and distributed both booklets to any student who mailed the stamped and addressed postcard, regardless of his booklet preference.

The second part of the index for information seeking is based on questions respondents raised in reply to items on the top of p. 7 of the questionnaire.

Students were not hesitant to inquire about symphony.

Although a ninth or tenth-grader must possess some minimum skills of articulation before he can write a codeable question, response to the items on p. 7 correlates highly with booklet sending (Gamma = .46, $p<.0001$), which is susceptible to quite different sources of error--chiefly, the effort required to get the card to a letter drop.

Interest in continued exposure to symphonic music also received behavioral measurement. Approximately 30 days after each student had attended his concert performance, he received an attrictive 8 x 8 1/2-inch, single-fold, green-on-yellow direct mail piece with the following copy:

> You can get a free record of music similar to the music you heard at the Seattle Symphony's school concert a few weeks ago.
>
> This record is entirely different from any you may have. It contains music by composers whose works were on the concert program you attended, but the music on the record is different from the music you heard at the concert.
>
> This free 45-rpm record can be played on any standard record player. It's yours for the asking. Simply tear off the attached postcard, fill it out, and mail it.
>
> For your free record, remove the postage-paid card at left, write your name and address on the other side, and drop it in a mail box.

A professional drawing on the mailer showed two teenagers relaxing, listening to a phonograph.

A special 45 r.p.m. symphony record had been prepared for this distribution, and it was mailed within four days to respondents from whom we received the stamped and addressed card.

Attitudes toward the music performed at concert were measured by items on the bottom of p. 7 that asked how much of the music students liked on the

survey date (two days after performance), and how much they thought they would like before attending the event.

* Check on experimental manipulations. Page 8 contains a battery of items inquiring about pre-concert record listening. Questions were phrased to be appropriate for both control and experimental respondents. Items gathered data about whether any records of some of the concert music were heard in the "last few weeks," how many records were used, where the records came from, first time of listening, any subsequent listening, and whether listening occurred with other persons.

The item asking where records came from is one means we have for determining whether record listeners in control schools used the family collection, or happened to be exposed to listening opportunities through friendship with students in experimental schools. Only three cases of this latter kind of listening were identified, which suggests that experimental assignment of schools achieved the desired isolation of pre-concert manipulations.

* Favorable coorientation toward symphony. Each respondent's perception of whether others they knew liked the concert music was assessed by items in the middle of p. 7 in the questionnaire. Use of the cutting point of liking "almost all of the concert music" is based on several waves of pre-test research demonstrating that this quantitative point in our liking scale (that includes "very little," "some," "most" and "almost all") discriminates between favorable coorientation that affects subsequent behavior, and coorientation that does not have these consequences.

As the items on p. 7 make clear, we can identify role-relationships of coorientation partners and amount of concert talk with each type.

The concert program.

One large and complex variable we could not control in this research was the concert program itself. The music performed and the conductor's narrative about the orchestra and symphonic works were crafted according to artistic criteria with which we could not interfere.

Two basic concert programs were offered in the seven performances:

Junior High Schools

Otto Nicolai, The Merry Wives of Windsor Overture
Serge Prokofiev, Classical Symphony, First Movement
Henk Badings, "Ragtime" from Evolutions
Leonard Bernstein, West Side Story, Highlights
Louis Ballard, Scenes from Indian Life
Alberto Ginastera, Dance Finale from Estancia

Senior High Schools

William Walton, Johannesburg Festival Overture
Peter Tchaikovsky, Symphony No. 4, Finale
Johann Sebastian Bach, Concerto in D Minor for Clavier and Orchestra
Claude Debussy, Fêtes
Carlisle Floyd, Of Mice and Men, Interlude
Alberto Ginastera, Dance Finale from Estancia
Medley from "Hair"

CHECK ON EXPERIMENTAL MANIPULATIONS

Variables relating to experimental distribution of symphony records were examined separately by schools to determine differences between control and record schools, and between mail and class distribution methods. Although some large differences were apparent between control and experimental schools, mail and distribution schools were nearly identical.

Attendance at Concert.

Concert attendance rates among the ten schools ranged from 69 per cent to 94 per cent, although all but two schools had more than 80 per cent of our experimental subjects in the audience. Attendance was not compulsory--in fact, administrators subscribed to a policy of voluntary attendance to avoid audience behavior problems.

It would appear, however, that control and experimental schools differed somewhat in proportions of students who chose the concert over competing activities like study hall. In the average control school, 80 per cent attended. In the average mail school, 87 per cent attended, and in the average distribution school, 90 per cent attended.

Differences between control and experimental respondents are even more clear-cut when attendance rates are based on individual behavior, rather than school averages. Seventy-eight per cent of the youngsters in control schools were in the audience, compared to 88 per cent in both kinds of experimental schools (Chi-square = 4.7, 1 d.f.; $p<.05$).

These differences in students' concert interest probably can be attributed to our pre-concert gifts of records. An alternative interpretation could be

offered that teachers exerted social pressure for students to attend, because they became aware that some effort was underway to interest students in the symphony. (Teachers were asked not to exert influence.)

Teacher pressure seems an unlikely explanation, however, in light of the equivalent attendance rates in mail and distribution schools. Fewer teachers in mail schools would have become alerted to our pre-concert efforts.

Amount of Pre-concert Record Listening.

In mail and distribution schools alike, approximately six out of ten students who attended the concert reported listening to records in advance (in an additional 4 per cent of the cases, first record listening occurred between the concert and time of the survey two days later). In control schools, by contrast, about one out of five youngsters claimed to have recently heard concert music on records.

Almost all students in experimental schools identified records they heard as having been distributed in class or as having come in the mail at home. And, as one would expect, most of their record listening occurred within two weeks of the performance.

On the other hand, most control students who said they had listened to symphony on records were clearly describing experiences prior to our experimental period. Among the one out of five who had heard records of some of the concert music (or, more accurately, records that sounded like performance music) more than three-fourths were referring to listening that had occurred prior to two weeks before the symphony's visit--in many cases, listening that happened so long ago they couldn't place the date.

We can conclude, therefore, that each method of record distribution resulted in some listening behavior by a majority of students who decided to attend the performance. From respondents' answers to more detailed questions about pre-concert listening, we learned that multiple use of the two records was common. Between 35 and 45 per cent of the listeners in each experimental school used the records more than once. About half the youngsters who listened to records reported hearing music on both discs we gave away.

And, we learned that most youngsters listened to music with others. Among those who played our records at least once, approximately two-thirds said they had done this with other persons. Of course, we cannot determine whether this was in response to our suggestion or was spontaneous behavior.

It is of some importance to note the identity of these listening partners. One experimental manipulation, record distribution, lent itself to classroom adaptation, and a few teachers took advantage of the availability of records and a phonograph to play concert music for their students.

However, we find that listening partners did not differ between mail and distribution schools. Among youngsters who listened with others, 61 per cent reported that parents were listening partners, 59 per cent cited siblings, 43 per cent other kids, and 16 per cent mentioned adults other than teachers. Thirteen per cent mentioned teachers.

Clearly, the records were used at home, received multiple hearings, and attracted a large and heterogeneous audience.

Record Listening and Coorientation.

On a gross level of behavior, experimental manipulations stimulated greater concert attendance and resulted in substantial levels of pre-concert

exposure to symphonic music. As intended, much of this exposure took place in a social context. We had hoped this context would reveal other persons in each respondent's social milieu who enjoyed concert music.

We can check whether our hopes were fulfilled by inquiring whether the record listening that was achieved among experimental respondents resulted in increased coorientation about symphony. The analytic question is straightforward: Did youngsters in experimental schools--especially those listening to records--report more favorable coorientation about symphony than controls?

At this point in the analysis of experimental manipulations, we can merge the students in schools within each experimental assignment. Close inspection of differences among schools discloses that clustering effects due to school conditions are minimal. The analysis below compares the 640 youngsters who attended concerts in control schools with the 1,144 in mail schools and the 634 in distribution schools.

Table A presents the proportion of students with favorable peer coorientation, by experimental condition, and by whether or not respondents had listened recently to concert music. Numbers of respondents represented by each cell of the table are shown in parentheses.

Table A

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH FAVORABLE PEER COORIENTATION, BY EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION AND RECORD-LISTENING.

Schools:	No recent listening to concert music on records	Some recent listening to concert music on records	Gross amount of favorable peer coorientation
Control	28% (515)	47% (125)	32%
Mail	28% (469)	43% (675)	37%
Distribution	28% (285)	38% (399)	34%

Recall that the intent of record distribution was to expand the gross amount of favorable coorientation about symphony. The left-hand column in Table A tells us that youngsters who had not listened recently to symphony records are remarkably alike in extent of favorable coorientation toward the music heard at concert, regardless of experimental manipulation. Comparison between the left and center columns discloses that record listening is associated with peer coorientation. Unprompted record listening by control respondents is most associated with favorable coorientation (47 per cent, versus 28 per cent, or an increment of 19 per cent). Stimulated record listening in the two kinds of experimental schools also correlates with favorable coorientation (showing an increment of 15 per cent in mail schools, and 10 per cent in distribution schools).

The result is, however, that gross amounts of favorable coorientation in experimental schools barely exceed the amount that "naturally" occurred in the control schools--as the right-hand column of figures in Table A shows.

Table B presents the same type of analysis for favorable coorientation with parents.

Table B

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH FAVORABLE PARENT COORIENTATION, BY EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION AND RECORD-LISTENING

Schools:	No recent listening to concert music on records	Some recent listening to concert music on records	Gross amount of favorable parent coorientation
Control	16% (515)	24% (125)	18%
Mail	14% (469)	20% (675)	18%
Distribution	11% (285)	16% (399)	14%

Record listening, whether natural or prompted, is more modestly correlated with parent than with peer coorientation. And the distribution of records--by mail and in class--resulted in no greater levels of gross favorable coorientation than occurred in the control schools. In fact, the gross figure for students in distribution schools is slightly lower than for control students (14 per cent, compared to 18 per cent).

Table C contains a final coorientation analysis for sibling partners. Findings are parallel to those for peer and parent coorientations.

Table C

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH FAVORABLE SIBLING COORIENTATION, BY EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION AND RECORD-LISTENING.

Schools:	No recent listening to concert music on records	Some recent listening to concert music on records	Gross amount of favorable sibling coorientation
Control	5% (515)	15% (125)	7%
Mail	5% (469)	8% (675)	7%
Distribution	3% (285)	7% (399)	5%

Record listening is associated with favorable coorientation, but there is only one difference between control and experimental respondents in gross levels of coorientation--distribution versus control. This slight difference is in the opposite direction to that intended.

Conclusion.

Two observations can be made on the basis of data concerning experimental manipulations. First, the increased availability of symphonic music resulted in heavy exposure to the art form and greater concert attendance.

Second, this exposure did not increase the numbers of teenagers who felt they knew others who liked symphony. Favorable coorientation, the factor we have found to be a powerful correlate of music enjoyment and information-seeking about the symphony, is apparently resistent to increase by our efforts to induce symphony listening within a social context.

TEST OF EXPERIMENTAL EFFECTS

Although experimental manipulations changed attendance only, not coorientation, it is instructive to examine effects on dependent variables. Effects on youngsters' information seeking about symphony, their interest in continued exposure to symphonic music, and attitudes about the performance are in a direction opposite to that hypothesized.

Information seeking

Table D shows the results for information seeking--a variable that combines respondents' question-asking about symphony and their mailing a postcard--clipped from the questionnaire--asking for booklets about symphony music or musicians. Respondents from both types of experimental schools are combined in Table D, since analyses thus far have disclosed no differences between mail and personal delivery of pre-concert records. Within control and experimental groups, distinction is drawn between youngsters who had listened recently to symphony music and those who had not.

Table D

PERCENTAGE OF INFORMATION-SEEKERS, BY EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION AND RECORD-LISTENING

Schools:	No recent listening to concert music on records	Some recent listening to concert music on records	Gross amount of information seeking
Control	31% (492)	53% (117)	35%
Experimental (mail + distn.)	25% (721)	41% (1021)	34%
	Chi-square = 4.6, 1 d.f.; p <.04.	Chi-square = 5.8, 1 d.f.; p <.02.	

These findings are instructive in several ways. First, they disclose the range of information seeking about symphony--from 25 per cent of the youngsters who resisted our efforts to induce record listening in experimental schools, to 53 per cent among "spontaneous" record listeners in control schools.

Second, the data confirm that record listening is associated with information seeking. We have not bothered to show the statistical significance of the record-listening/information-seeking link in Table D (correlational findings will be presented in the next section). Record listening is employed here as a control variable.

Third, when control for record listening is invoked, experimental students are significantly less likely to seek information than controls--23 per cent, versus 31 per cent for the non-listeners, 41 per cent, versus 53 per cent for the listeners. Absolute differences are small between these pairs of percentages, but the large numbers of respondents yield significant Chi-squares, shown beneath the columns in Table D.

Finally, bross amounts of information seeking in control and experimental schools are almost identical. This apparent anomaly results, in part, from the fact that listeners in experimental schools seek more information than non-listeners in control schools (41 per cent, versus 31 per cent).

Continued exposure to symphony.

The pattern of results for information seeking is duplicated when we turn to examine students' interest in continued exposure to symphony. Table E shows percentages of respondents who sent for a 45 r.p.m. record of concert music four weeks after the performance and our post-concert survey. Recall that this

record offer was extended by a direct-mail flyer sent to youngsters at home. Again, results are shown separately for record-listeners and non-listeners.

Table E

PERCENTAGE WHO WANTED CONTINUED SYMPHONY EXPOSURE, BY EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION AND RECORD-LISTENING

Schools:	No recent listening to concert music on records	Some recent listening to concert music on records	Gross amount of interest in continued exposure
Control	17% (497)	23% (122)	18%
Experimental (mail + distn.)	6% (743)	14% (1063)	11%
	Chi-square = 35.2, 1 d.f.; p<.001.	Chi-square = 5.5, 1 d.f.; p<.02.	

Sending for a record well after the performance is a less common response to the concert than information seeking, as comparison between Tables D and E shows. Continued symphony exposure ranges from 6 per cent among non-listeners in experimental schools, to 23 per cent among listeners in control schools.

Controlling for pre-concert record listening, significantly fewer respondents in experimental schools sent for another 45 r.p.m. record than in control schools. Again, absolute differences between pairs of percentages are not great. Large numbers of respondents yield significant Chi-squares.

The gross level of mailing for a symphony record is somewhat greater among control respondents than among experimentals.

Attitudes about the performance.

We asked two questions concerning youngsters' feelings about the concert music. One asked them to recollect how much of the music they expected they would like before attending the performance. The second inquired how much of

the music they liked at the time of the survey, two days after the event. Response scales for these questions included self-ratings of liking "very little of the music," "some," "most" and "almost all of the music." A "don't know" response was also provided.

Among respondents who had listened to symphony records before the performance, there are no differences between controls and experimentals in how much of the concert they thought they would like. Among non-listeners to records, respondents in experimental schools had slightly more negative and more uncertain expectations about the concerts than controls.

There are greater differences between experimentals and controls in post-concert evaluations of the event, however. Table F shows proportions of respondents who liked "almost all" or "most" of the music (only one per cent didn't know how they felt about the music after the event).

Table F

PERCENTAGE WHO LIKED ALMOST ALL OR MOST OF THE CONCERT MUSIC, BY EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION AND RECORD-LISTENING

Schools:	No recent listening to concert music on records	Some recent listening to concert music on records	Average concert liking
Control	44% (495)	69% (121)	49%
Experimental (mail + distn.)	37% (727)	58% (1032)	49%
	Chi-square = 24.0, 4 d.f. (on ungrouped data); p <.001.	Chi-square = 11.9, 4 d.f. (on ungrouped data); p <.02.	

The results are clear. Youngsters exposed to our efforts to induce pre-concert listening to symphony enjoyed less of the program music than

respondents in control schools. This boomerang effect is evident among students who listened to records and those who did not. The average concert liking (right hand column in Table F) is equal for the two groups of respondents.

Some of the dynamics of pre-concert and post-concert music attitudes are disclosed by closer examination of these variables. Within both control and experimental schools--and among record listeners and non-listeners--correlations are high between recollection of pre-concert attitudes and post-concert feelings about the music. There is some shift in attitudes, however, and these are worth noting, even though the interrelationship between attitudes was not affected by experimental manipulations.

Seventeen per cent of the youngsters recalled they didn't know how much of the music they would like before attending the program. Among these "uncertain" respondents, about 4 out of 10 said they enjoyed "almost all" or "most" of the music, and the remaining 6 out of 10 decided they liked only "some" or "very little."

A second kind of shift in attitudes is a tendency for youngsters who expected they would like little of the music to change in a positive direction after the event. In control schools, 4.6 times as many youngsters changed from negative to positive feelings, as changed from positive to negative. In experimental schools, the ratio was even more pronounced--8.6 times.

The number of changers is small, however, comprising fewer than 3 out of 10 youngsters in the sample--whether control or experimental.

In summary, one notes substantial stability in music attitudes, from before to after the performance, with some overall increase in positive

feelings, and a slight tendency for most of the "uncertains" to conclude that they like relatively little of the music they heard.

Conclusion.

There is a small lesson in Tables D and E with some implications for diffusing a performing art like symphony. It is this: If ninth and tenth graders are left alone prior to their voluntary attendance at symphony concerts, as many as 1 out of 3 will be interested in information about the medium after their concert exposure, and 1 out of 5 will take the trouble to mail for a concert record after a delay of four weeks. These levels of response do not seem insignificant in light of the minority status of the performing arts, and the many popular entertainments that compete with symphony for teenagers' time.

Attitudes toward concert music become more certain and somewhat more positive after exposure to a live performance. But again, the extent of favorableness is not at all increased by distribution of the "product" beforehand. In fact, the reverse is true. Left to their own devices, about half the control respondents said they liked "almost all" or "most" of the music they heard performed.

Attitudes, of course, are less visible than behaviors like question-asking and sending for records. But there is impressive agreement among all these dependent variables in illustrating the "counterproductivity" of record distribution prior to the performance.

NON-EXPERIMENTAL FACTORS AFFECTING INFORMATION SEEKING AND INTEREST IN CONTINUED SYMPHONY EXPOSURE

We turn now from analysis of experimental effects to examine correlations among factors that help illuminate the characteristics of youngsters who are information seekers about symphony, or who are interested in continued exposure to concert music. Much of this examination will merge students in control and experimental schools, since the impact of record-distribution on dependent measures was slight, though it was negative to a statistically significant degree.

We should confirm at the outset an obvious expectation--that information seeking and sending for a record are correlated reactions to the concert. The two, in turn, are equally related to how much of the performance music youngsters enjoyed.

Desire for information will be kept separate from sending for a record in the analyses below, however, because of public policy implications. Although asking questions, sending for booklets and requesting a record are all communicative acts seeking something in return, institutional arrangements that might respond to these needs differ. We will return to this point in a concluding section of this report.

Music orientation and symphony coorientation.

Our point of departure represents a combination of common-sense theorizing and more-elaborate deducation. On the level of common sense, one naturally expects that information seekers and senders-for-records will emerge most commonly from the ranks of those who have already shown an interest in

"serious" music. Arguments sometimes heard in favor of restricting concert attendance at school to music students include this element of reasoning.

We developed two measures of students' music behavior that reflect--in different ways--their involvement in institutionally-supervised music activities. Participation in these sanctioned programs does not exhaust opportunities to enjoy music performance, but these programs probably represent the most visible and familiar means by which youngsters may have performed symphonic works themselves. Our measures are: (1) present enrollment in a music class at school--like band, orchestra or chorus; and (2) playing of a musical instrument.

Instrument playing was assessed by an item asking which of the following statements best described the respondent--"I have never tried to play a musical instrument," "I have tried to play a musical instrument, but only a few times," "I play a musical instrument, but not very often," and "I play a musical instrument quite often." Respondents who checked the latter two phrases were asked to name the instruments they played. The index used below includes youngsters who mentioned a band or orchestral instrument.

More elaborate deduction of an explanation for information seeking and continued exposure follows from the coorientation model presented earlier. Perception of a social environment favorable to symphony remains a key analytic concept, even though experimental manipulations were insufficient to change amount of favorable coorientation toward concert music.

In the entire sample of respondents (there are no differences between experimentals and controls), one out of three teenagers knows at least one peer who is thought to have enjoyed almost all of the music heard at the performance. About one out of six has a parent he thought would have liked almost all the music if he had attended. Other people--siblings, teachers and

other adults--were rarely mentioned as coorientation partners.

We can begin to compare the power of coorientation and more common-sense music orientations as predictors of dependent measures with the aid of Table G. It shows Gamma correlations between information seeking, continued exposure, and the four predictors--enrollment in music class, playing a band or orchestral instrument, peer coorientation about the concert and parent coorientation.

Table G

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INFORMATION-SEEKING, CONTINUED SYMPHONY EXPOSURE, AND PREDICTOR VARIABLES--BY EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION (C = Control Schools; E = Experimental Schools)

	Peer coor.		Parent coor.		Music class		Play instr.	
	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E
Information seeking	.42**	.36**	.19	.31**	.43**	.38**	.40**	.30**
Continued exposure	.42**	.38**	.03	.33**	.24#	.41**	.27*	.18*

**p<.01
*p<.02
#p<.03

Distinction is made between control (C) and experimental (E) schools. Numbers of respondents vary somewhat, due to missing data, but an average of 618 control students and 1,770 experimentals are represented. Statistically significant coefficients (by Chi-square test) are indicated.

Two conclusions are evident from Table G. The first concerns types of coorientation, peer and parent. Parent coorientation correlates with dependent behaviors in only the experimental schools, where our pre-concert activities evoked a considerable amount of family listening to symphony. By contrast,

peer coorientation correlates in both experimental conditions.

Second, comparison between peer coorientation and music participation as predictors of information seeking and continued exposure show that perception of social environment is the equal of the other two variables (in fact, a greater correlate in five out of eight comparisons.

This point is worth emphasizing. Enrollment in a music class can consume one-eighth to one-fifth of a student's curricular time and usually more hours in extra-curricular performance at assemblies, sports events, evening programs, and the like. Playing a musical instrument often requires a corresponding commitment of time, and in many cases, motivation. Not all of this invested effort, of course, exposes participants directly to symphony, but it is unlikely that many teenagers can perform symphonic or similar music through any other means.

Yet, participation in these avenues toward direct contact with symphony is no more powerful a predictor of our dependent measures than perception of a favorable peer environment.

A clearer picture of this finding can be gained with the aid of Tables II and I. In them, the two music activities--class enrollment and instrument playing--are combined into a single index, formal contact with music. The Tables divide respondents according to this characteristic (neither, one or both activities) and whether or not they have any peer coorientation partners who liked almost all the music heard at concert. Within the resulting six groups, Table II shows percentages of information seekers, and Table I shows percentages of respondents who sent for a record four weeks after the performance.

Table H

PERCENTAGE OF INFORMATION-SEEKERS,
BY FORMAL CONTACT WITH MUSIC AND
PEER SYMPHONY COORIENTATION

		Formal contact with music			
		0	1	2	Row diff. sig. at:
Number of peer symphony coorientation partners	none	21%	29%	49%	p <.0001
	one or more	38%	46%	58%	p <.0001
	Column diff. sig. at:	p <.0001	p <.0001	p <.05	
	N =	992	810	468	

Both dependent behaviors increase regularly--across rows and down columns of the tables. The significance level of each row and column--tested by Chi-square--is shown in the margin. The joint and additive effects of coorientation

Table I

PERCENTAGE WHO WANT CONTINUED SYMPHONY EXPOSURE
BY FORMAL CONTACT WITH MUSIC AND
PEER SYMPHONY COORIENTATION

		Formal contact with music			
		0	1	2	Row diff. sig. at:
Number of peer symphony coorientation partners	none	8%	9%	16%	p =.0005
	one or more	14%	17%	28%	p =.0002
	Column diff. sig. at:	p <.002	p <.0005	p <.002	
	N =	1027	817	493	

and formal music contact are such that levels of information seeking extend from a low of 21 per cent to a maximum of 58 per cent, almost 2.8 times as great. And interest in continued exposure ranges from 8 per cent to a level 3.5 times greater, 28 per cent.

The appeal of seeking to manipulate coorientation can also be grasped. It is clearly too costly, impractical and probably undesirable to expand music class enrollments and to stimulate instrument playing as means of enlarging a following for symphony. It is somewhat more tenable to think of providing catalyst for favorable coorientation.

Involvement with pop music.

Throughout our research program teachers have frequently asked us, with some astonishment, how anyone in his right mind could expect teenagers to interest themselves in symphony. To paraphrase a typical conversation:

> I see teenagers every day with transistor radios plastered to their ears, snapping fingers to the latest rock or blues hit. I hear kids talk endlessly about their favorite record stars, and see them trade copies of magazines featuring these cultural heroes.
>
> Considering the tremendous hold of peer groups on adolescent behavior and the attractions of rock music--which is anything but symphony --how can you expect kids to bother themselves finding out more about classical music, or even wanting to hear it, unless they have nothing better to do?

This is an extreme expression of a familiar suspicion. One can detect at least four themes that recur in the reasoning it illustrates. One is that pop music and symphony are not only different art forms, they are antagonistic. To enjoy one is to be a likely enemy of the other.

Another is that adolescents are uniformly enthralled with pop music. Frequency of listening to pop groups and amount of interest in their music are constants, not variables. A third theme is that showing an interest in symphony

is a sufficiently deviant behavior among teenagers to threaten one's status with peer groups. Fourth, amount of time spent with pop music displaces available hours for listening to symphony.

Probably no single person subscribes to all of these assertions, and it would be tedicus and unproductive to disentangle the logic by which they might be combined in an explanatory "theory" of why youngsters avoid symphony. Our first reason for skirting this labor is the discovery, documented here as elsewhere, that many teenagers do not avoid symphony. Many of them enjoy its performance, are interested in further information about it, and would like to own and listen to records of concert music.

Finding some fans of symphony is not sufficient reason, however, for rejecting the possibility that involvement with popular culture conflicts behaviorally with interest in a performing art. Alleged antagonisms between "fine" and "brutal" art are too imbedded in western traditions of sociological and cultural analysis to be dismissed lightly (Jacobs, 1961).

Accordingly, we developed measures that tap several dimensions of teenagers' involvement with pop music. This involvement can take the form of having many singers and musical groups among one's favorites. The blue page of the questionnaire (see Appendix C) asked respondents to list groups they liked by name. Close inspection of these mentions discloses a familiar list of top-40 stars, plus a sprinkling of folk and western musicians. No youngster replied to p. 2 by citing a "classical" musician or perfoming group.

Involvement with pop music can also be manifest by frequent use of radio or records to hear musical favorites (pp. 4-5 of the questionnaire). Involvement can be expressed by following the lives and fortunes of pop groups in

magazines, newspapers and other media (p. 4), or by talking frequently with other kids about singers, musical groups or their songs (p. 6). Most important, the social ramifications of one's involvement with pop music are reflected in the extent of coorientation associated with the music--especially the number of other kids thought to like the same popular groups (p. 3).

These pop-music variables have been presented as a grab-bag, without attention to theoretical linkages among them. Linkages and more elaborate analysis will be subjects for future reports from this program of research. As disconnected as the variables are here, however, they can be used to lay to rest the suspicion that students' use of popular music as entertainment in any way inhibits them from responding positively to symphony--seeking information, being interested in future exposure, or liking the concert they attended.

Table J shows correlations (Gamma coefficients) between our array of pop music variables and information seeking about symphony. Two groups of respondents are distinguished--those who have no peer acquaintances who are thought to

Table J

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INFORMATION-SEEKING AND INVOLVEMENT WITH POP MUSIC, BY SYMPHONY COORIENTATION WITH PEERS

		Involvement with pop music					
		Peer coor.	Talk pop music	Read pop groups	No. pop favorites	Pop rad. listen	Pop rec. listen
Symphony peer coorientation partners	none	.02	.11	.23**	.11	-.08	.02
	one or more	.01	.06	.14*	.00	-.05	-.05

**p <.0001

*p <.05

have liked almost all the music performed at concert, and those with at least one favorable peer coorientation partner.[6] These two groups are kept separate on the grounds that any negative correlation between pop music involvement and response to symphony may be most pronounced among youngsters who perceive no social support for enjoying concert music.

An almost unexceptional feature of Table J, however, is the lack of relationship. In general, involvement with the pop music scene, however measured, does not correlate with seeking information about symphony. The departure from this pattern involves reading about pop stars in the print media during the past seven days. Youngsters who have scanned magazines, record jackets and other media for news about their favorites are more likely to ask questions about symphony and send for our booklets than those who have not read about pop musical singers and groups. This positive relationship holds for both groups of respondents--those with favorable symphony coorientation, and those deprived of this social support. The combined-group correlation (Gamma) equals .23, $p < .0001$.[7]

Some of the other zero relationships bear comment. The number of favorite music groups is, of course, only a rough outcropping of involvement with popular music. Types of favorites--folk, acid rock, bubble-gum, etc.--may have a greater bearing on enjoyment of symphony. Later reports from this research will explore that possibility.

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[6] Numbers of youngsters represented by these data vary due to missing data on some variables. An average of 1,495 students are represented by the row of coefficients for youngsters with no symphony coorientation, and 818 students for the row with favorable symphony coorientation.

[7] All coefficients here are tested for significance by Chi-square.

Frequency of listening to radio and records is a more straightforward manifestation of absorption with pop music. These are dynamically different media for music, as another analysis discloses (Clarke, in press). But use of neither predicts information seeking, about symphony.

Talking about pop music with friends and awareness of others who share one's music likes are especially important facets of the social value pop music can convey. Yet neither of these behaviors is correlated with information seeking.

Table K shows a corresponding set of correlations for continued interest in listening to symphony--sending for our record four weeks later. The pattern

Table K

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CONTINUED INTEREST IN SYMPHONY EXPOSURE AND INVOLVEMENT WITH POP MUSIC, BY SYMPHONY COORIENTATION WITH PEERS

		Involvement with pop music					
		Peer coor.	Talk pop music	Read pop groups	No. pop favorites	Pop rad. listen	Pop rec. listen
Symphony peer coorientation partners	none	-.01	-.02	.12	-.08	.00	-.04
	one or more	-.06	-.04	.09	-.06	-.17*	.00

*p <.05

of zero-correlations is repeated, with one departure.[8] Among youngsters with at least one peer who is thought to like the concert, frequency of radio

[8]The number of respondents without symphony coorientation in Table K averages 1,538, and for those with coorientation, 846.

listening to pop favorites is negatively related to sending for the record. For the combined sample of respondents, however, this relationship reduces to .08, which is not statistically significant. The conclusion one must reach thus far is that involvement with pop music is not much of a predictor of response to symphony.

When we shift from measures of students' post-concert behavior to their expressions of concert attitudes, the results appear slightly more consonant with alleged incompatibilities between popular and elite culture. Table L shows Gamma coefficients for liking of music performed by the Seattle Symphony.

Table L

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN LIKING CONCERT MUSIC AND INVOLVEMENT WITH POP MUSIC, BY SYMPHONY COORIENTATION WITH PEERS

		Involvement with pop music					
		Peer coor.	Talk pop music	Read pop groups	No. pop favorites	Pop rad. listen	Pop rec listen
Symphony peer coorientation partners	none	-.19**	-.11	.05	-.12	-.23**	-.15*
	one or more	-.16*	-.11	-.15	-.22*	-.18*	-.17*

**p <.0001

*p <.05

Youngsters with many pop music coorientation partners among peers would seem to be significantly less likely to have enjoyed concert music--Gammas of -.19 and -.16 for the two symphony coorientation groups. When the groups are

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[9]The number of respondents without symphony coorientation in Table L averages 1,441, and for those with coorientation, 825.

combined, however, the relationship is reduced to -.08, because symphony and pop music coorientation are themselves correlated (see next section). This combined-group correlation is not statistically significant.

Respondents who are heavy users of radio to hear pop favorites enjoyed less of the music than light users (combined correlation equals -.17, $p < .0001$). And heavy users of pop records liked less of the music (combined correlation equals -.16, $p < .0001$).

There is also a significant negative correlation between number of pop music favorites and concert liking--among students with at least one favorable symphony coorientation partner. This seemingly anomalous finding does not merit detailed appraisal; the combined correlation is also negative, but not statistically significant (Gamma = -.09).

Taken as a whole, these results suggest that expression of concert attitudes is modestly and negatively associated with two aspects of involvement with pop music, radio and record listening. Post-concert behavior that can bring youngsters into closer contact with symphony is not negatively related to pop music behaviors. We have already remarked the questionable status of our attitude measure as a predictor of future behaviors related to symphony. Here we see that although attitudes correlate with information seeking and sending for a record, attitudes exhibit somewhat different linkages with other entertainment activities.

On balance, the many nearly-zero correlations in Tables J to L deserve greater emphasis than the few negative values. The total matrix of evidence lends scant support to a major tenet of the "culture debate" that has raged in elitist quarterlies since the explosion of movies, radio and other mass

diversions. These young people would not appear to be markedly disabled from taking an interest in symphony as a consequence of their involvement with more popular music. And concert response is not any lower due to pop music involvement among youngsters who experience no favorable symphony coorientation, than among those with peer coorientation partners.

Gregariousness and concert response.

Our questionnaire started with a page asking youngsters to list others at school with whom they talked almost every day. These sociometric nominations may or may not be reciprocated by the other individuals named. (We are able to ascertain this for any grade-similar students listed by reference to their questionnaires.) Whether reciprocated or not, however, number of peers listed as talking partners contributes an index of social gregariousness in the peer social system. Gregariousness is the range of interpersonal communication activity, reflected in each respondent's perceptions of his own and others' communication behavior.

Students were not hesitant to name talking partners. About four out of ten filled all the lines provided on the page. We can distinguish between students who are comparatively isolated socially, and students who feel they interact with a great many peers each day.

An initial question we posed with these data was whether favorable coorientation about symphony--knowing at least one peer thought to have enjoyed almost all of the concert music--is more characteristic of relative isolates than more gregarious youngsters. This expectation is suggested by the assumption that symphonic music represents something of a deviant interest among junior and senior high school students.

For purposes of this comparative analysis, relative isolates are those who listed eight or fewer talking partners, a middle group that mentioned nine to 15, and the most gregarious who listed 16. These cutting points come closest to producing three groups of nearly-equal size.

We find that the comparative isolates are least likely to know others who enjoyed the concert--as one would expect on the basis of opportunity to learn others' feelings about symphony. The correlation (Gamma) between gregariousness and symphony coorientation is .26 ($p < .0001$). Among the comparative isolates, 24 per cent have at least one peer coorientation partner; in the middle group, 36 per cent have a partner; among the most gregarious, 42 per cent have a partner.

We can go one step further to analyze whether the effect of coorientation on concert response is contingent on amount of gregariousness. This amounts to asking whether experiencing favorable symphony coorientation among a small circle of social interactees at school produces a different effect from coorientation within a large circle of talking partners. In the large circle, a greater proportion of one's talking partners are indifferent to, or dislike symphony.

Table M

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SYMPHONY COORIENTATION AND CONCERT RESPONSE, BY LEVEL OF GREGARIOUSNESS

	Gregariousness		
Correlation with:	low	middle	high
information seeking	.34** (638)	.32** (770)	.39** (973)
interest in continued exposure	.43** (662)	.39** (793)	.36** (999)
concert liking	.66** (614)	.64** (760)	.72** (963)

**p <.001

Table M shows correlations between coorientation and the three response variables--information seeking, sending for a record and liking of concert music. Numbers of respondents contributing to each coefficient are shown in parentheses. Across rows, coefficients are uniformly high for each response variable, regardless of the size of respondents' sphere of talking partners. From this we can conclude that although opportunities for coorientation are linked to gregariousness, the effect of coorientation is not dependent on the size of students' social milieu.

Looking down the table--from information seeking, to continued exposure, to concert liking--we find some variation in magnitude of correlation. The two post-concert behaviors, seeking and record sending, are correlated about equally with coorientation. By contrast, liking the concert music appears more dependent on favorable coorientation.

The lesson from these findings is modest, but counter-intuitive. The extent of students' integration into the peer social system plays only a minor

role in the responses evoked by attending concerts. To the extent that gregariousness intervenes, it is associated positively with knowing others who like symphonic music and, thereby, indirectly, with liking the music, seeking information and desiring continued exposure.

SUMMARY AND SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THESE RESULTS

In retrospect it is easy to quarrel with the experimental efforts documented here. Distribution of symphony records over a brief span of two weeks should hardly be expected to produce dramatic changes in coorientation--even for an art form that youngsters generally have not experienced. Unguided listening to the records, even in a social context, should not be expected to yield multiple opportunities for perceiving others' likes and dislikes. The time lag between "created-coorientation" and its natural consequences, such as information seeking, may be much greater than the one- to two-week span between record listening and our survey date, or may be less than the span between listening and our record offer five to six weeks later.

In a policy-relevant sense, however, our efforts may seem a less absurd test of one form of unintrusive pre-concert preparation. In terms of material costs and several "nondirective" educational philosophies, it is reasonable to attempt enhancement of concert enjoyment by distributing an inexpensive replica of the "product" beforehand. Unlike strategies that call for increasing musical knowledge,battalions of teachers need not be trained in music education. Complicated logistics of distributing pre-concert music lesson materials are not required. One simply has to see to it that records are mailed or handed to youngsters in a way that invites, but does not coerce listening--preferably with other persons.

As for time intervals and numbers of records distributed, it is difficult to imagine that more intensive and long-range efforts will be mounted by "real" (as opposed to experimental) school districts. Visits by performing arts

groups remain episodic and peripheral to primary educational aims of most school systems. These aims center on academic preparation for college or on vocational training--neither of which embraces symphony or the other arts as an important ingredient. The distribution of two symphonic records shortly before a scheduled concert would seem the most that one could expect of this kind of preparation.

It is difficult, but inescapable, that the record distribution undertaken here produces negative effects on the selected response variables. What policy-relevant explanation can be offered? We have noted that pre-concert listening to symphony--whether natural or engineered--is associated with higher levels of response to the performance, but that these levels are attenuated in experimental schools. Coupled with this finding is the fact that non-listeners in experimental schools show less response than non-listeners in control schools.

This pattern of results suggests a reactance theory explanation (Brehm, 1966). Such a formulation asserts that respondents would react negatively to an effort they perceived as attempted social influence, or a restriction on their freedoms. The record distribution might have been viewed as a manipulation of freedom of choice to like or dislike the music, to seek or not seek information, and to continue or not continue music exposure. It has to be noted, of course, that any reactance effects generated by experimental manipulations failed to affect concert attendance. Mail and class distribution schools had greater proportions in the audience than control schools.

Unfortunately, we gathered no data concerning respondents' feelings about record distribution per se, a regrettable omission. Consequently the merits of this explanation cannot be argued against others.

If reaction to an influence attempt does explain the results, it does not discredit the idea of distributing records to youngsters who attend concerts. A reactance theory accounting does suggest, however, that opportunities for social listening to symphony be engineered after the concert, not before. The concert, as local event, is so manifestly an object of social approval that almost any pre-concert activity--even when conducted outside the academic milieu--may be suspect.

It should be recognized, too, that the process of surveying youngsters after a concert may heighten their awareness of social desirability aspects of the performance. It is possible that questionnaire administration itself is responsible for the negative effects of pre-concert record distribution on information seeking and record sending.

Post-concert record offers and post-concert opportunities to seek information may be the most cost-effective means of facilitating youngsters' orientations toward symphony. Coupled with recurring symphony performances throughout students' school careers, cumulative effects on long-range music behaviors might be observed.

Mechanisms that might be established to distribute information differ from those for symphonic records because of legal and institutional factors. Information about symphony and performers is the easiest to assemble and make available. Traveling orchestras can include post-concert classroom visits as part of their schedule. Pamphlets and other media can be prepared that deal with youngsters' uncertainties about the art form. These can be tailored to the characteristics of individual orchestras involved in enrichment programs.

Our surveys into younsters' information needs provide guidelines for the substantive content that should be covered in these information offerings.

Our survey methodology is well suited to replications in different enrichment programs where there is a need to identify unique information requests associated with particular programs. All that is necessary is the will, and some foundation support, devoted to responding to questions students raise about a performing art like symphony.

Continued exposure to symphony, via free distribution of records, is more problematical. Legal and production barriers act against the easy diffusion of symphony to persons unable or unwilling to pay for high-quality reproductions. We suggest, however, that if the performing arts are serious about democratizing access to art forms that cannot be sustained by commercial receipts, a way be found to escape copyright problems. An orchestra and its union local interested in expanding the audience for symphony might well consider special arrangements for recording and producing symphonic excerpts on perishable record stock for wide distribution to youngsters who seek continued listening opportunities after school concerts. The investment of 30 to 50 cents per "requester" (in production and mailing costs) might reap greater dividends than many of the untargeted direct mail campaigns now associated with arts promotion.

Nothing in this research diminishes the importance attached to coorientation. Regardless of the degree of youngsters' social integration, measured by gregariousness, coorientation is a strong predictor of concert response. Coorientation is at least the equal of direct experience performing music as a predictor of concert response. We are forced to conclude, though, that methods of stimulating favorable coorientation about symphony remain to be discovered--if they exist at all.

Finally, favorable reaction to symphony would not seem to be a victim of the attraction of pop music. Although practitioners of the two music cultures may be antagonistic, this culture rift is not reflected among adolescents.

This finding has at least two implications. One is that a youngster's interest in pop music should not be used to index his likely response to symphony. A second is that there is little to gain by embellishing a symphony program with motifs from pop culture. Teenagers' tastes in pop works do not stand as barriers to symphony enjoyment. There are few rewards to expect from ingratiating the teen audience this way.

This point is reinforced by data gathered while evaluating the high school concert program (see Appendix A).

In summary, this field experiment and associated research have confirmed the impact of social perception on response to a performing art. Data have disclosed some of the difficulties in stimulating higher levels of response. And results have discounted some of the more popular myths concerning youngsters' reaction to symphony--that positive behaviors are virtually nonexistant, or confined to music students, or characteristic of social isolates, or thwarted by pervasive pop culture.

It remains to be learned whether the concert response variables studied here among teenagers are vulnerable to manipulation--and are predictive of acult audience behavior. Both questions are of central importance to the future of support for the performing arts.

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APPENDIX A

A SURVEY OF REACTIONS TO THE SEATTLE SYMPHONY'S ENDOWMENT CONCERT PROGRAM

The School of Communications has been conducting field-experimental research into children's responses to attending symphony.

The Seattle Symphony has been an active participant throughout this research program. The Symphony has incorporated a number of findings into planning innovative presentations of the orchestra and symphony music before student audiences. Symphony personnel have provided invaluable assistance in conducting the research. Much of this work has been included in a research program supported by the U.S. Office of Education with Dr. Peter Clarke as principal investigator.

Some of the School's 1971 research program has included schools that are part of the Symphony's concert program funded under a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities. The Symphony requested that we set aside one of the schools as a special research site where we could examine students' reactions to the innovative program presented with Endowment support. The following report describes the results of this survey.

The study explored two questions. First, we were interested in students' unprompted reactions to the concert--what they saw and heard that they liked and what they disliked. These comments from students help us focus on the visual and aural program units that have salience and that lead to some affective response to the performance.

Second, we wanted to learn whether these program likes and dislikes are associated with characteristics of students that are important considerations for future concert programming. It is important to distinguish the likes and dislikes of music students from those who have less familiarity with the instruments or literature of symphony. And it is instructive to learn whether program likes and dislikes are associated in any way with likely correlates of long-term outcomes of the Symphony's visit. Two kinds of outcomes are examined here: (1) a student's desire to learn more about symphony music or musicians, and (2) a student's interest in listening again to music like he heard at the school concert.

Along with discussion of these results, other relevant data are also presented.

Methods of inquiry

The School's earlier research program has identified the ninth and tenth grades as target populations in the study of children's responses to the performing arts. At these ages, children's communication about a concert and other responses to the event are closely linked to social processes in the peer group and family.[1] The school sample reserved for this Endowment study is a tenth grade class of 550. These students are enrolled in a suburban high school serving a mixed area ranging from lower-middle class to a sprinkling of upper-class families. Almost all students are white.

They attended the Symphony's performance in the school gym in late March, 1971. The program included Walton's Johannesburg Festival Overture, Bach's

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[1] Some of these results are reported in Clarke (1970a), and Appendix B to this report.

Concerto in D for Harpsichord and Strings, the final movement of Tchaikowsky's Fourth Symphony, Debussy's Fêtes, dances from "Estancia" by Ginastera, an interlude from "Of Mice and Men" by Carlisle Floyd, and a medley from "Hair."

Two days later, a ten-page questionnaire was group-administered to students in World Civilization classes by staff from the School of Communications. The instrument and procedures are similar to the design of earlier surveys, except for open-end questions asking for reactions to the concert students had recently attended.

Of the sophomores listed on class rolls, all but 12 per cent participated in the survey. Absences on the survey day and participation in special education programs accounted for the missing respondents. Of the 482 youngsters we questioned, 376, or 78 percent, had attended the concert.

The bulk of our findings are based on this final sample of 376. Earlier studies by the School have inquired into the reasons students do not attend school concerts where participation is voluntary. The usual reasons refer to competing academic obligations--a term paper that is due, a chemistry assignment left unfinished, etc. We have found few overt references to a lack of interest in the music being performed.

Hence, we would expect that the 376 students whose data are reported below differ very little from the 106 non-attenders in terms of musical background characteristics. To some extent, this expectation is born out. Among respondents who sing in musical groups outside of school, 81 per cent attended, compared to 79 per cent among the non-singers. Among youngsters who describe themselves as players of musical instruments, 83 per cent attended the concert, compared to 71 per cent of the non-players. Among students enrolled in music

classes at school (band, orchestra or chorus), 91 per cent attended, compared to 76 per cent among students outside the school's music program.

These differences range from tiny to 15 per cent. None is large enough, however, to suppose that the student concertgoers studied below represent a deviant minority of the thousands of youngsters available to attend school performances of symphony.

Concert likes and dislikes

What parts of the Endowment program stuck in these tenth-graders' minds over the two-day interval between concert and survey? We asked youngsters to "think for a moment about what you saw and heard at the concert." First, was there anything they saw or heard that they liked, and then anything that they disliked? Respondents wrote descriptions of things they could recall in each category.

Preliminary reading of the questionnaires disclosed a number of topical clusters in the things respondents had to say about their concert experience. Mentions of visual experience were distinguishable from aural features of the program. Within each of these groupings, frequently-mentioned units of program material could be detected. The following scheme of categories was developed and used to code youngsters' likes and dislikes:

Mentions of visual experience:

watching the orchestra
watching the conductor
watching other objects or events

Mentions of aural experience:

music from "Hair," or "music we know"
Bach or harpsichord
mentions of specific instruments

mentions of "old" music, or "classical" music
other music

Mentions of a personal response to the event--an emotion or mental state evoked by the performance

Miscellaneous mentions not covered above

Table 1 shows the number of students who expressed each kind of like or dislike, out of a total of 374 concert-goers who completed this section of the questionnaire.

Several things are apparent from these data. Most notably, these tenth-graders are expressive. Three hundred seventy-four respondents wrote almost

Table 1

NUMBERS OF STUDENTS WITH CONCERT LIKES AND DISLIKES
(among 374 concertgoers

	Number with: likes	dislikes
Mentions of visual experience:		
watching the orchestra	18	10
" " conductor	14	12
" other	5	1
Mentions of aural experience:		
music from "Hair"	146	10
Bach-harpsichord	52	10
mentions of specific instruments	43	5
"old" music	29	65
other music	100	61
Mentions of personal response	37	34
Miscellaneous	9	32
TOTAL	453	240

700 separate likes and dislikes about the concert. On balance, their remarks were favorable, which is expected from a questionnaire procedure like this.

Of course, some students listed many likes or dislikes, while others wrote none. It should be emphasized that there are no standards against which to compare these data, and no "control group" of students who attended a different kind of performance.

Within the constraints of this single study, however, we can venture a few observations about students' reactions to elements contained in the Endowment program. Despite our invitation for respondents to comment about what they saw as well as heard, comparatively few mentions refer to visual experience. In part, this may be explained by the gymnasium setting, which placed some students out of visual contact with the orchestra and forced others to peer over the shoulders of persons seated on the same level. This speculation is consistent with the fact that a greater share of the visual mentions are unfavorable than is the case for aural experiences.

The most dramatic pattern of findings among reports of aural experience is the heavy concentration of favorable mentions for music from "Hair," which is altogether too easy to contrast against the 2:1 unfavorable mentions citing "old" music. The stage show selections were undeniably popular, although one of the "old" works--the Bach harpsichord piece--received 1/3 as many favorable comments.

It is perhaps more revealing to sum the mentions of likes and dislikes referring to symphonic literature, which includes the Bach, "old" music and the other-music category. The latter contains a mixture of references to other works on the program, none of which received enough individual comment to warrant a separate category as with Bach.

This total symphonic grouping was mentioned favorably 181 times, compared

to 136 unfavorable comments. On balance, the students enjoyed works that a symphony orchestra is organized to perform. The salience of Bach and students' recurring mentions of the harpsichord suggest the orchestra might explore similar sound patterns with symphonic literature that have high salience and positive affect for secondary school audiences.

One should also not lose sight of the 43 students who remarked favorably about specific instruments they heard (compared to five who complained).

The final category, mentions of personal response, contains comments about internal states produced by the music. Typical was the young girl who said the performance made her feel "warm all over," and the boy who claimed that some of the music "made you think a lot." Favorable and unfavorable responses were about equal.

It is interesting to note that mentions of various concert likes bear different relationships with overall enjoyment of the concert music. One item in the questionnaire asked how much of the music respondents had liked--"almost all," "most," "some" or "very little." There is a slight negative relationship between this overall rating and mentions of "Hair" music in response to the open-end question asking for concert likes. By contrast, the overall rating correlates positively with liking of Bach, "old" music and other music.

Thus, respondents who mentioned "Hair" are a distinctive audience sub-group containing many who enjoyed little else on the concert program. This point will be underscored by later findings that concern behavioral outcomes of the Endowment program.

Likes, dislikes and music background.

Are there types of students in the audience who are more likely than others

to cite various program elements as likes or dislikes? This question has particular relevance for organizing concerts so that they reach beyond students who are already involved in music and affect those who do not play instruments, sing in groups or take part in organized school music activities.

Accordingly, we cross-tabulated concert mentions against three indexes of students' prior musical experience. This analysis is confined to mentions that refer to aural experience since these were the most frequent and are the most relevant for future concert programming.

Table 2 shows percentages of students who mentioned likes and dislikes of aural experience; respondents are divided into those who sing in a musical group outside school (15 per cent of the total) and those who do not. The appropriate comparisons to make within the table are between singers and non-singers.

Few of the differences are large enough to merit attention. There is a tendency for singers to report they enjoyed the Bach more than non-singers (22 per cent vs. 12 per cent). More singers than non-singers said they liked "old" music on the program (22 per cent vs. 5 per cent), but the two groups hardly differ on enjoyment of other music (24 per cent vs. 28 per cent). Only minor differences emerge when we examine the two groups for things they disliked about the performance.

Table 2

AURAL LIKES AND DISLIKES,
BY SINGING IN MUSIC GROUP OUTSIDE SCHOOL

Mentions:	% with likes		% with dislikes	
	sing	do not sing	sing	do not sing
music from "Hair"	44%	38%	2%	3%
Bach-harpsichord	22%	12%	2%	3%
specific instruments	7%	12%	2%	1%
"old" music	22%	5%	13%	18%
other music	24%	28%	19%	16%

Consequently, we can say that students who sing in a group are very much like their less musical peers in terms of the salience and affect produced by the Endowment concert.

This conclusion is reinforced when we turn to the data in Table 3, where students enrolled in band, orchestra or chorus are compared with youngsters outside these music programs. About one out of four respondents takes part in these curricular activities. They are more likely to mention Bach as a favorite (21 per cent, vs. 12 per cent), and to say they liked older music on the program (12 per cent, vs. 6 per cent). Enjoyment of other music shows a small difference as well (31 per cent, vs. 25 per cent). Excepting these differences, however, music students and non-students are similar in concert reactions.

Table 3

AURAL LIKES AND DISLIKES,
BY ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOL MUSIC PROGRAM

Mentions:	% with likes: enroll.	% with likes: not enroll.	% with dislikes: enroll.	% with dislikes: not enroll.
music from "Hair"	38%	39%	2%	3%
Bach-harpsichord	21%	12%	2%	3%
specific instruments	13%	11%	2%	1%
"old" music	12%	6%	14%	18%
other music	31%	25%	12%	18%

Even fewer differences emerge between respondents who play a musical instrument (about two-thirds of the sample), and those who do not. Table 4 shows greater enjoyment of other music among players (31 per cent, vs. 20 per cent), but no other appreciable differences.

Table 4

AURAL LIKES AND DISLIKES,
BY MUSICAL INSTRUMENT PLAYING

Mentions:	% with likes: play	% with likes: do not play	% with dislikes: play	% with dislikes: do not play
music from "Hair"	39%	38%	4%	2%
Bach-harpsichord	14%	14%	3%	4%
specific instruments	10%	14%	1%	3%
"old" music	8%	6%	16%	20%
other music	31%	20%	16%	16%

We conclude from these data that the cruder indexes reflecting musical background fail to predict responses to the Endowment concert very strongly. Where differences do emerge, the percentage gap is not great. Nor do the musically experienced differ from others in the ratio of favorable to unfavorable comments.

Of course, our measures of musical background do not probe deeply into the level of students' voice or instrument skills, nor the extent to which their experience results from self-motivation, as opposed to parental coercion or social pressure at school. These are important limitations.

Our indexes were designed to represent students' most visible musical characteristics--the factors that teachers might use to segregate audience groups, or to determine who shall attend concerts and who shall go to study hall. There is no evidence here that these characteristics have any validity for such policy decisions. It is heartening to note that none of the schools participating in Endowment concerts that were included in our research designs have resorted to audience segregation.

The general absence of relationships reported in Tables 2-4 has another implication. Both enjoyment and lack of enjoyment of program elements are widely distributed throughout the student body.

Likes, dislikes and concert effects.

Throughout our research program, we have been interested in some of the behavioral effects that symphony concerts might achieve. Research designs have not permitted longitudinal studies of the same students over time. But within the boundaries of cross-sectional surveys, we have attempted to estimate effects of symphony performances that might correlate with respondents'

future music orientations.

One of these effects is information seeking--a desire by a student to find out more about symphonic music or the persons who perform it. In most of our studies, the questionnaire ends with a booklet offer. The respondent is told he can obtain one of two free booklets about symphony. One is a "guide to understanding and enjoying symphonic music," and the other tells how symphony musicians "got their training and how they work." These titles and booklet content were drafted to correspond to the questions students ask after attending a school performance.

At the Endowment school studied here, 11 per cent of the concertgoers tore out the post card from the questionnaire, took it home, filled in their name and address and mailed it to the Seattle Symphony. The card was already stamped. This level of information seeking is consistent with earlier studies and represents an untapped spring of lively interest. If this offer could be extended to all 39,350 secondary students who heard Endowment performances in 1971, we could expect 4,329 requests for information.

We have analyzed relationships between concert likes and dislikes and sending for one of our booklets. It is no surprise that youngsters who mentioned unfavorable aspects of the performance are not found in great numbers among the booklet requesters. The bother of sending away for a piece of printed material challenges even an enthusiastic symphony listener.

There is a difference in booklet sending that can be traced to the kind of concert likes that students mentioned, however. Only 7 per cent of respondents who mentioned the music from "Hair" took advantage of the post card offer, compared to an average of 16 per cent among those who mentioned liking the

Bach, or "old" music, or other music on the program. The stage show medley may generate keen appreciation by a young audience, but this response does not produce communication behavior that is oriented toward symphony as an artistic discipline.

We have another way of estimating students' information seeking about symphony. Immediately after telling us that they had attended the school concert, they were asked whether there was "anything about symphony music or musicians that you would like to find out?" Respondents wrote their questions.

Our questionnaire coders were instructed to identify and separate two kinds of queries. One refers to professional aspects of music or musicians' lives. Illustrative topics include how one becomes a musician, the relationship between conductor and orchestra, difficulties of playing specific instruments, musicians' attitudes toward the music performed, etc. The other concerns personal questions about family life, interests unrelated to music, and the like. Table 5 shows the percentages of students who asked professional questions about the orchestra or about music. Rate of question-asking is shown separately according to the kinds of concert likes that were mentioned by respondents.

Table 5

PROFESSIONAL QUESTION ASKING
BY TYPE OF AURAL LIKES

Mentions:	Percentage of Question-askers
music from "Hair"	23%
Bach-harpsichord	31%
specific instruments	40%
"old" music	42%
other music	31%

These results parallel those for booklet sending. Students who enjoyed program elements that are within the boundaries of symphonic literature are more likely to be information seekers than those who cited the popular music as a source of concert enjoyment.

Another long-range effect of the Endowment program is willingness to listen to symphonic works in the future. We have a behavioral index of this response in the form of a record offer extended to respondents approximately 30 days after they had attended the school concert--and about 28 days after they had fill out our questionnaire.

A brightly colored direct mailing was addressed to students at home. It advertised a "free record offer" inside a one-fold flyer. Inside art and copy proclaimed the opportunity to obtain a free record of "music similar to the music you heard at the Seattle Symphony's school concert a few weeks ago." The record, a 45 r.p.m. monaural disc, would be mailed on receipt of a stamped post card, which the respondent had to fill out with his name, address and school.

Seventeen per cent of the total sample of concertgoers sent for a record. Unlike the results for information seeking, however, no differences in record sending are apparent based on concert likes. Students who cited music from "Hair" as a source of enjoyment are just as likely to have sent for a record as those who mentioned traditional symphonic works. Although the record was clearly advertised as a symphony recording, each youngster who mailed for the disc may have projected his own concert likes as an expectation of what he would receive.

Conclusions

In turning to the significance of these data for concert program design, it is appropriate to examine closely the nature of student likes and dislikes which are the fulcrum of this report. It should be noted that these are youngsters' unprompted perceptions, and not responses to leading questions. It should also be remembered, however, that what emerged on paper had survived a two-day interval. Other data gathered in this study testify to the large amount of social interaction by students about the performance. They talked with peers, with brothers and sisters, and often with parents, and these conversations most certainly influenced what our respondents remembered about the performance, and perhaps what they liked about it. We cannot trace the details of this influence process here. But it can be assumed that for many of the tenth-graders studied here, likes and dislikes are an amalgam of what they thought about the performance and the way they thought others felt.

An internal analysis of patterns of likes and dislikes makes it clear that these written responses are more than simple attitudinal expressions. They do reflect salience, as well, and cognitions that combine to produce

salience often form unexpected units. For example, 8 of the 52 students who liked the Bach went on to express a dislike for "old" music. Eleven of the 65 who complained about "old" music said they enjoyed the concert because of the opportunity to hear specific instruments, which they named. As a final illustration, 11 of the 61 who mentioned a specific piece of music they disliked (other than Bach) also cited music they liked. Many in this student sample have a differentiated view of the concert they attended.

We know from earlier surveys, as well as from data collected at the Endowment research school, that large numbers of students report liking "almost all" or "most" of the concert music they heard. This level of enjoyment usually includes half the audience. Of greater interest is the change in attitudes toward symphony from before to after the performance. Many students recall that prior to the Symphony's visit they felt a great uncertainty about what they would hear. Asked how much of the music they thought they would like, about one-fifth reply, "I don't know." About half these youngsters turn out to be pleased, not disappointed by the event.

The survey results described here imply that programming theatre rock music into the Symphony's performance is not an effective way to expand concert enjoyment. Nor did the inclusion of a medley from "Hair" show much effect in inducing youngsters to take a greater interest in symphony as an art form. It is certainly true that the inclusion of "Hair" boosted the ratio of favorable to unfavorable mentions. But a more penetrating analysis of the data shows that these mentions are <u>not</u> linked to a shift in symphony attitudes from uncertainty before the concert to positive feelings after it. Furthermore, information seeking as a communicative response to the concert is not associated with mentions of "Hair."

One overall impression to be gained from these survey results is that the Endowment program, sans "Hair," was received favorably by somewhat more students than were turned off by the symphonic idiom. The residue of favorable cognitions is closely tied to a quest for additional information, which more extended visits by the Orchestra could satisfy.

The Endowment program is clearly an aural, not a visual event. We can anticipate increased enjoyment to the extent that the program highlights compositions and instrumentation that produce appealing sound patterns within symphonic boundaries (like the Bach work). Additional occasions for instrumental virtuosity could be another source of salient and positive affect.

The long-range achievements of this positive affect could be considerable One out of nine respondents took the trouble to write away for a booklet about symphony. One out of six sent for a symphony record. These figures look small against today's ethic of Nielsen ratings that speak of 40 per cent market shares. But while the proportions are small, the absolute number of children represented is large--certainly large enough to contribute a significant bulge to adult audiences for the performing arts.

Without comparative and longitudinal research, it is impossible to conclude that the Endowment performances promote a future interest in symphony. It can be said, however, that current signs point in that direction, and that the Endowment program reaches beyond a circle of students already interested in the performance of music.

APPENDIX B

CHILDREN'S RESPONSE TO ENTERTAINMENT. EFFECTS OF COORIENTATION ON INFORMATION-SEEKING*

The increased research attention being devoted to youth and entertainment culture results, in part, from the numerical and economic prominence of the teen market and from a growing appreciation of expressive values found in man' leisure.[1] By now, it is commonplace to observe that the values adolescents find in entertainment or the mass media are a function of group behavior--standing in the peer group, frequency of dating, parental values, and the like (Riley and Riley, 1951; Coleman, 1961; Clarke, 1965a; Chaffee et al., 1971). Yet, despite general discussions of group variables in the communication process (Riley and Flowerman, 1951; Freidson, 1953b; Klapper, 1960; Larsen, 1964) there have been surprisingly few efforts to advance a social-theoretical framework for studying children's entertainment choices or their responses to entertainment experiences.

Entertainment is a broad category and as difficult to define as leisure (for attempts, see de Grazia, 1962; Kaplan, 1960; Dumazedier, 1967). Included are popular media--such as the Top 40, movies, and television--and the performing arts--like symphony and theatre--that attract narrower audiences. Experiencing these entertainments is not simply an individual act; viewing and

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[1] Not all of this attention fits the traditional mold of survey-method social sciences. For examples of observational studies of youth culture, see Roszak (1969) and Wolfe (1968).

listening are more usually social behaviors undertaken in group settings (Freidson, 1953a; Johnstone, 1961; Clarke, 1965b, 1970b).

It follows that responses to entertainment, as well as choice of entertainment, may be a function of social expectations and perceptions. The purpose of this paper is to examine evidence of social, as opposed to individual, correlates of a distinct kind of response to entertainment--information-seeking

This choice of dependent variable needs some explanation. Most research on entertainment behavior--record listening, television viewing, and so forth--has considered these experiences as communication and has looked for noncommunication consequences. These consequences include how much the entertainment was enjoyed (Steiner, 1963; Belson, 1967), the meanings ascribed to it (Wallach, 1964; Robinson and Hirsch, 1969), time displaced by it (Robinson, 1969), and behavior resulting from it (Katz and Foulkes, 1962).

We have been more interested in communication consequences of entertainment--specifically, whether or not a person seeks information about entertainment or its practitioners after exposure to a performance of the entertainment Of course, information-seeking about entertainment can itself be entertaining. Reading movie gossip columns or record jackets, or tuning in disc jockeys are emotional as well as learning experiences. It is difficult to tell how the entertainment-information industry functions to reduce uncertainty about the subjects it covers, and how it functions to amuse or excite information seekers.

In any event, we wish to learn more about adolescents' information-seeking because this communication helps distinguish the active from the passive entertainment audience. At a minimum, seeking information increases the salience of an entertainment form or entertainers, and draws the topice more

firmly within the life space of the individual.

The setting for the present discussion and research into information-seeking is not commercial entertainment but a performing art--the symphony concert. The Seattle Symphony travels to schools throughout Washington State as part of an arts educational program covering several performing media (including theatre, opera, and dance). Fifty-minute concerts are usually given in gyms before large audiences of youngsters bused to a centrally located school. To some children, the experience is forced. Others are excited by the event.

Research into children's reactions to the concerts has provided an opportunity to do four things: (1) to define a communicative response to the concert, information-seeking, that has wide relevance to other entertainment experiences, forced or voluntary, (2) to set forth a model for studying information-seeking that recognizes the social relevance of both entertainment and information about it, (3) to test some propositions using the model, and (4) to suggest implications of the model for the study of youth and entertainment culture generally.

Concepts and Hypotheses For Studying Children's Information-seeking About Entertainment

Information-seeking

A familiar way of analyzing information search is to take note of the use people make of mass media channels--in the case of entertainment, fan magazines, newspaper reviews, and similar outlets. Unfortunately, this approach confounds persons' search behavior with the availability of information in the

environment. This problem is acute in the case of performing arts, where we might discover a considerable thirst for information that is being provided nowhere.

Accordingly, at least two definitions of information-seeking are worth distinguishing:

(1) Seeking is an expressed need to find out something, regardless of how available that "something" is.

(2) Seeking is taking advantage of a defined information opportunity, where access to the information is equal across persons.

We have conducted preliminary studies of the questions children ask about symphony and symphony musicians after attending concerts, and we have learned that the visibility of sources that might meet these information wants is very low. However, analysis of children's questions has helped in constructing information opportunities about symphony that can be made available to youngsters.

In the present study, separate measures of children's information-seeking are used for the two definitions above. Although we are dealing with symphony as an entertainment, the definitions are relevant to communicative response to any entertainment experience.

Coorientation

Explanations for information-seeking are customarily sought on the level of personal characteristics, like education or sex. By contrast, we subscribe to a coorientation model in which explanation is achieved on the level of a person's perceptions of his acquaintances and how they view the object of information.

Assumptions about the social nature of entertainment suggest the

appropriateness of using a coorientation model. Since there are few objective means by which individuals can judge the quality of entertainment, many persons engage in social comparisons about the event--they match their evaluations with others'. Social comparison increases the stability of one's evaluations (Festinger, 1950, 1954) and offers an occasion for expressing affection and other interpersonal rewards.

Thus, being entertained frequently results in social comparison activities like, "Did you enjoy the Bach?" or "Wasn't that a cool movie?" Coorientation is often a consequence: One gets an idea of how others feel. The more coorientation that is favorable about the entertainment, the more benefits a person can gain from information-seeking--if we assume that information facilities further social comparison.

Coorientation, as it is used here, means knowledge of how others evaluate an entertainment. Figure 1 shows variables in the model, which is patterned after Newcomb (1953).

Four concepts are specified by the model:

(1) Object of orientation. This is a discriminable entertainment within A's experience.[2]

(2) Person A's evaluation of the entertainment.

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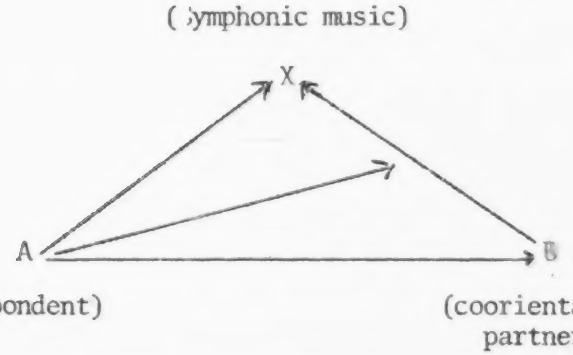
[2]Any entertainment, especially symphonic music, is an ambiguous object of coorientation to accommodate in a questionnaire. For many respondents, verbal labels and nonlinguistic sense categories do not match. In this circumstance, the safest approach in questioning persons is to point to a performance within their range of experience--in our case, the school concert.

Figure 1. Coorientation Model Showing Variables Used in the Present Analysis.



(3) Coorientation partner, B. This is any person whose entertainment evaluation is known by A.

(4) Perceived partner's evaluation, B-X.

One subsidiary concept can be added. This is whether or not an entertainment has been discussed between A and B.

The coorientation model provides a means for systematically learning whether a person's social environment has evaluative connections with an entertainment and how the person perceives those connections, if they exist. A sociological concept like "reference group" can be accommodated by noting characteristics of coorientation partners, such as whether they are parents or peers.[3] We analyze these two spheres separately below.

[3] To account for reference group completely, one needs to learn whether persons use their B-X perceptions in forming evaluations of entertainment. This question is not examined in the present report.

Hypotheses

The model's applicability to explaining information-seeking is illustrated by testing seven hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Information-seeking about an entertainment or its practitioners is positively correlated with favorable coorientation toward the entertainment.

Hypothesis 2. Discussion with favorable coorientation partners about the entertainment is positively correlated with information-seeking. To the extent that social comparison depends on social interaction that has already occurred, correlations tested in hypothesis 2 should be greater than those tested in hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 3. Discussion about the entertainment, irrespective of the coorientation status of discussants, correlates less with information-seeking than the independent variables contained in hypotheses 1 and 2.

Talking with others about a topic is not equivalent to learning their evaluations of it (see Watzlawick et al., 1967).

Hypothesis 4. Hypotheses 1-3 are tested separately for parent and peer spheres of relationship. The coorientation model does not contain concepts describing role relationships, so predictions are not made as to which sphere correlates most with information-seeking. The supposed adult character of symphony might lead one to expect higher parent correlations for this entertainment. Studies posited on peer versus parent reference attachments (Rosen, 1955, 1955-1956; Bowerman and Kinch, 1959) might suggest higher peer correlations among teenage respondents.

Hypothesis 5. We wish also to test whether favorable coorientation in each sphere--parents and peers--has an additive effect on information-seeking.

Hypothesis 6. Favorable coorientation is empirically as well as theoretically distinct from a person's own evaluations of entertainment. Favorable coorientation correlates positively with information-seeking, even when personal evaluations (A-X) of the entertainment are held constant.

Hypothesis 7. Coorientation is not a symmetrical concept. The presence of partners who feel lukewarm (at best) about an entertainment does not in itself discourage information-seeking; the absence of a favorable partner does.

These hypotheses are straightforward. They state that youngsters' information-seeking about entertainment depends on whether acquaintances are thought to enjoy that entertainment. We are not sure whether the type of acquaintance matters, but for a start parents and peers will be distinguished.

Most important, taking account of children's perceptions of others' entertainment attitudes contributes an explanation of information-seeking not provided by children's own entertainment attitudes. Some children who are unenthused by symphony seek information because friends like the music.

Finally, acquaintances' disliking of an entertainment is not the opposite coin from liking in its effect on information-seeking.

Methods

Sample and Procedures

Data were collected four to five days after children had attended a Seattle Symphony concert at which works by Beethoven, Franck, Richard Strauss, Antheil, and others were performed. Three hundred and twelve seventh-, ninth- and eleventh-grade students from two suburban school districts near Seattle were included in the analysis.[4]

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[4] Ns reported in tables are somewhat smaller due to missing data on one or more variables.

With one exception, the sample was drawn by selecting every nth name from school enrollment rosters. At one high school, eleventh graders were selected by drawing intact classes taking a required subject. The original sample contained 393 children. The reduction to 312 eliminates those who did not attend the school concert.

Questionnaires were administered to small groups of students by staff from the Communication Research Center. Response anonymity was assured.

Measures of Information-seeking

Information-seeking as a felt need to find out something, information wants, was measured by asking each child if there was "anything about symphony music or musicians that you would like to find out?" Mentions of performance or musical topics were coded. To qualify, a mention had to contain a noun-attribute linkage.

The second measure of seeking, taking advantage of an information opportunity, was obtained by including a booklet offer at the end of the questionnaire. Two booklets were offered: "Listening to Symphonies--a guide to understanding and enjoying symphonic music"; and "Seattle Symphony Musicians--how they got their training and how they work." Respondents were invited by the questionnaire to detach a stamped and addressed postcard, indicate which booklet they wanted, write their address, and mail the postcard.[5]

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[5] The proportion of children who responded to this offer equals results in an earlier study in eastern Washington (Clarke, 1970a), where the offer was couched in different language and different materials were made available. Twenty-eight percent of the booklet senders wanted Listening to Symphonies, and 72% wanted Seattle Symphony Musicians. No distinction is made between these groups in the following analysis.

The two measures correlate (Gamma coefficient) at .50 ($z = 2.85$; $p < .01$). Twenty-seven percent mentioned at least one information want, and 21% mailed for a booklet.

Measures of Coorientation and Concert Discussions

Items measuring the presence of coorientation partners and perceived B-X evaluations appeared early in each child's questionnaire. The survey administrator read the following aloud, while children read it silently in the questionnaire:

> Without really knowing what other people think about things, we sometimes have an idea of what their feelings are about things. We would like you to think about music for a moment.
>
> Are there any persons whose likes and dislikes in music you feel you know something about?

Youngsters who marked "yes" listed persons by name and indicated who they were. Then they were asked to indicate which persons had attended the concert. Then they marked how much of the music they thought each listed person "liked--if he attended--or would have liked if he had attended." A scale was provided so that respondents could circle "almost all" the music, "most," "some," "very little," or "don't know."

Later in the questionnaire, children were asked if they had talked about the concert with anyone since they had attended it and to list these persons by name. Mentions of coorientation partners and discussants were coded into five categories--parent, peers, siblings, teachers, and other adults.[7]

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[6] All correlations reported here are Gamma coefficients. For properties of this statistic, see Costner (1965).

[7] Teachers and other adults were seldom cited as coorientation partners. Siblings have been excluded from the present analysis, since the number of brothers and sisters in each child's family varies widely.

The first two categories are used in the present analysis. Within each group--parents and peers--three indices were derived:

(1) The number of persons (parents or peers) the child thinks liked "almost all" of the music performed at the concert--favorable B-X perceived.

(2) The number of persons thought to like "almost all" of the music, with whom the child discussed the concert--favorable B-X talked with.

(3) The number of persons with whom the child discussed the concert, irrespective of whether they are coorientation partners or not.

Distributions for these variables are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

DISTRIBUTION OF COORIENTATION AND DISCUSSION VARIABLES

	Percentage of Children with at least One Parent Mention	Percentage of Children with at least One Peer Mention
Favorable B-X perceived	19	20
Favorable B-X talked with	11	12
Person talked with	42	64

Measure of Own Concert Evaluation

To assess the A-X variable in the model, children were asked how much of the music they had liked--"almost all" to "very little."

Results

Hypotheses 1-4

Table 2 contains Gamma correlations between coorientation and information-seeking and discussion and information-seeking--separately by parents and peers

The appropriate z-values for reference to the normal curve are shown under each coefficient.

Since directional hypotheses are advanced, one-tail tests at the .05 level are applied to these data. (A z-value of 1.65 or greater indicates a statistically significant coefficient.)

Table 2

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN COORIENTATION, DISCUSSION, AND INFORMATION-SEEKING, BY SOCIAL SPHERE

	Information-Seeking	
	Booklet	Want
Parent Variables		
Favorable B-X perceived	.44 (2.24)[a]	.37 (1.91)[a]
Favorable B-X talked with	.37 (1.43)	.41 (1.71)[a]
Person talked with	.17 (1.12)	.36 (2.33)[b]
Peer Variables		
Favorable B-X perceived	.44 (2.27)[a]	.51 (2.96)[b]
Favorable B-X talked with	.43 (2.62)[b]	.48 (2.21)[a]
Person talked with	.15 (0.86)	.21 (1.31)

n averages 300 cases

a. $p < .05$.
b. $p < .01$.

Table 2 has been organized to show the set of parent variables, followed by corresponding peer variables. It can be seen that the presence of a favorable coorientation partner correlates substantially with children's informationpseeking. "Favorable B-X perceived" is significantly related to sending for a booklet and to information wants, whether the perception involves parents or peers.

Whether or not the child discussed the concert with his favorable coorientation partners seems to make little difference. Relationships involving "favorable B-X talked with" are about equal to those involving "favorable B-X perceived."

Finally, only one of the correlations between information-seeking and discussion about the concert is significant--the one between talking with parents and information wants.

Hypothesis 5

Possible additivity of coorientation on information-seeking requires additional analysis for testing. From the data already presented, it is clear that the strongest impact from coorientation on information-seeking is perceiving others with favorable evaluations of symphony. Consequently, the test of hypothesis 5 is confined to this variable, "favorable B-X perceived."[8]

Table 3 contains percentages of children who sent for a booklet and who specified an information want within each of four groups--no favorable B-X, parent-only favorable, peer-only favorable, and both parent and peer favorable

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[8]Parent- and peer-favorable coorientation are correlated (G = .47; z = 2.34, p <.01). Children may live in a homogeneous social environment concerning symphony, or they may impose a degree of symmetry in how they perceive parents and friends.

Table 3

PERCENTAGES OF INFORMATION SEEKERS, BY FAVORABLE B-Xs PERCEIVED

	Neither Parent nor Peer	Parent Only	Peer Only	Both Parent and Peer
Percentage of booklet senders[a]	16	28	27	52
n =	(210)	(39)	(41)	(21)
Percentage with information want[b]	19	35	46	52
n =	(201)	(37)	(39)	(21)

a. Chi-square for booklet-sending equals 14.8; 3 d.f.; $p < .001$.
b. Chi-square for information wants equals 19.0; 3 d.f.; $p < .001$.

For each dependent variable, the rates of information-seeking climb from fewer than one out of five among children with neither parent nor peer partners to around one out of two among children with both parent and peer partners who are favorable. Chi-squares are significant beyond the .001 level.

Table 3 shows mixed results concerning the additive nature of coorientation. In the case of booklet-sending, children with both parent and peer partners are significantly more likely to have sent the postcard than children with only one partner (chi-square equals 4.5; 1 d.f.; $p < .05$). However, the difference in information wants between corresponding groups fails to attain statistical significance.

Hypothesis 6

A first step in comparing the explanatory power of attitudes toward entertainment and coorientation is to examine correlations between each and information-seeking.

Two conveniences are employed in comparing the predictors. By now, it is clear that sending for a booklet and expressing an information want are two manifestations of the same variable. They correlate with each other, and they enter into parallel relationships with other variables (with the exception of hypothesis 5).

Consequently, a summary score was constructed for information behavior that reflects whether the respondent sent for a booklet and whether he expressed at least one information want. The score ranges from 0 to 2.

The second convenience is to sum the two coorientation variables, favorable parent and favorable peer B-X, into a single index--again, ranging from 0 to 2.

The correlation between this favorable coorientation score and information-seeking is .54 (z - 3.79; $p < .01$). This compares with a correlation of .42 (z - 2.72; $p < .01$) for the relationship between child's concert attitude and information-seeking.

The case for the coorientation variable must rest on a second test, however. Children's attitudes toward the music are held constant while examining the correlation between coorientation and information-seeking. Table 4 reports the results.

Table 4

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN COORIENTATION AND INFORMATION-SEEKING, HOLDING CHILD'S CONCERT ATTITUDE CONSTANT

	Children who Liked "Almost All" or "Most" of the Music		
	Coorientation:		
Information-seeking	None	Some	
none	62%	38%	G = .45
some	38	62	(2.41)[a]
	100%	100%	
n =	(110)	(71)	
	Children who Liked Only "Some" or "Very Little" of the Music		
	Coorientation		
Information-seeking:	None	Some	
none	80%	50%	G = .60
some	20	50	(2.38)[a]
	100%	100%	
n =	(90)	(26)	

a. $p < .01$.

It can be seen that the relationship between coorientation and information-seeking continues to be significant when concert attitude is held constant. The two coefficients have almost identical z-values, which are significant beyond the .01 level by one-tailed test. Even among children with comparatively negative attitudes toward the concert, the presence of a favorable coorientation partner is strongly related to information-seeking.

Hypothesis 7

The presence of favorable coorientation strongly correlates with information seeking. Is the presence of parents or peers who are thought to feel lukewarm (at best) about the music negatively related to booklet sending or information wants?

Within each sphere, parents and peers, each child was coded for the number of persons thought to like "very little" or "some" of the music performed at concert. A second index was also scored that reflects whether the child discussed the concert with any of these "unfavorable" partners.

For each index, in each sphere, the correlation with information-seeking is almost exactly zero. Our tentative conclusion is, therefore, that coorientation is not symmetrical: The presence of favorable partners operates differently on information-seeking than the presence of unfavorable partners.

Discussion and Implications

Data reported here have a number of limitations. Only one entertainment form has been studied, and that is one for which large teenage audiences are mostly engineered, not voluntary. The effects of this arrangement on relationships between coorientation and information-seeking are difficult to speculate. It is worth noting, however, that approximately four out of ten youngsters wanted information about symphony, even though the concert they attended was a public school event.

Another difference between symphony and more popular entertainments is the level of children's knowledge about performance and performers. We have

not yet studied the persistence of information-seeking and its dependence on social perceptions.

Nor can we say anything about how repeated exposure to an entertainment form affects information-seeking. Concerts and other stagings of the performing arts are rare; few broadcast stations air reproductions. The uncertainty most children must face in looking ahead to future concerts may reduce their appetite for information and may alter the importance of coorientation.

With these limitations in mind, the utility of a coorientation model for explaining information-seeking about entertainment receives strong support on two counts--its absolute predictive power and the distinctiveness of variance explained. A variety of individual variables appropriate to the entertainment in this study were also measured--such as playing of musical instruments, participation in band or orchestra at school, viewing concerts on television, and the like. None of these accounts for as much variability in information-seeking as presence of favorable coorientation partners.

One failure in the results concerns the presumed role of social comparison as a mediator variable. "Favorable B-X talked with" correlates about the same with information-seeking as "favorable B-X perceived." Perhaps one school concert is too limited a base of experience with symphony-as-entertainment to use in estimating the amount of social comparison with acquaintances. Or, much of the social comparison relevant to information-seeking may be anticipated, rather than past.

Despite this deficiency, coorientation seems more potent, theoretically and empirically, as an explanation for information-seeking than a concept like social interaction. In Table 2, seven out of eight coorientation relationships are significant, compared to one out of four involving discussion.

Data reported here have other implications for the study of children's leisure:

First, findings in Table 4, if replicated using other entertainments, emphasize a latent function served by information sources about performers and their art form. Celebrity magazines and other mass media not only satisfy the needs of entertainment fans; they are rewarding to nonfans as well--at least those nonfans who are aware of favorable coorientation partners.

One image of the nonfan information seeker is that of a person adjusting to the enthusiasms of others. Perhaps he wants to ready himself for conversations with others, to make a good impression, to seek approval, or just find out more about things that acquaintances value.[9]

Much remains to be learned about characteristics of self-other relationships that mediate the importance of socially relevant information-seeking. The A-B link is an untapped dimension of the coorientation model.

One appropriate variable is the generality of coorientation with a partner --the range of entertainments or other topics about which B-Xs are known by A. One would suppose that the effects of coorientation on information-seeking about a particular topic are more pronounced where A and B coorient about many things, than where their relationship is specialized.

Other variables (from which coorientation is derivative) include frequency of social contact with partners and the importance one places on the sentiments

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9 There is another way to illustrate the importance of how acquaintances are thought to feel about entertainment, compared to one's personal evaluation. As mentioned earlier, data were gathered concerning children's postconcert conversations about the performance. Whether or not a youngster talked with a coorientation partner about the concert is much more a function of favorability of the partner's attitude, than a function of the youngster's own attitude.

and values of partners.

Second, reference group theory, which usually distinguishes between adolescents' peer and parent attachments, may have relatively little to contribute to a study of children's information-seeking about entertainment. Whom the child coorients with appears less important than the presence of a favorable partner--at least in the case of an elite entertainment, like symphony.

What seems to be recommended is theoretical reduction in which we abandon a sociological concept, role relationship, for a cognitive concept, coorientation.

Third, the design of the study reported here establishes favorable coorientation as antecedent to information-seeking. This suggests that information behavior might be sensitive to manipulations in social comparison and coorientation experiences. If we wanted to increase children's information search about a particular entertainment, we might engineer social situations in which children could become aware of how others evaluated the entertainment.

Data showing that coorientation is not symmetrical--that the absence of favorable partners is not equivalent to the presence of unfavorable partners--suggest that manipulated coorientation is more likely to yield positive than negative results in information-seeking.

Conclusion

Communicative responses to entertainment have usually been neglected in studies of leisure among children and adults. This is surprising, since a great deal of mass media content portrays the world of entertainment, either fictionalized or "real." Social rewards obtained from using these media deserve to be studied in conjunction with research on entertainment behavior itself.

APPENDIX C

AN OPINION SURVEY

First, we appreciate your help in answering the questions contained in this booklet. This is not a test; there are no right or wrong answers. Also, your answers will not be seen by anyone else at school, by your parents, or anyone you know.

Please answer the questions below. Then, answer the questions on the next page. Thank you.

What grade are you in school? _____

Please write the name of your school here: _____

What class period during the day is it right now? _____

Please indicate whether you are a boy or a girl:

_____ boy

_____ girl

Communication Research Center
University of Washington
Seattle

First, here are some general questions.

How many kids in your school do you know well enough to stop and talk with in the hallway or on the street for a few minutes?

Write the number here: _____

Are there any kids here in school that you like to talk with almost every day?

_____yes ——→ Who are they? Please list each one on a separate line below by writing his full name. Use only as many lines as you need.
_____no

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

Are any of the persons above very interested in popular singers or musical groups?

_____yes ——→ Please write an "X" in front of their names.
_____no

PLEASE STOP AND WAIT FOR INSTRUCTIONS

Are there any singers or musical groups that you especially like?

_____yes
_____no

Please list each singer or group on a separate, numbered line below. Use only as many lines as you need.

Go to Page 7

1. _____ 23. _____
2. _____ 24. _____
3. _____ 25. _____
4. _____ 26. _____
5. _____ 27. _____
6. _____ 28. _____
7. _____ 29. _____
8. _____ 30. _____
9. _____ 31. _____
10. _____ 32. _____
11. _____ 33. _____
12. _____ 34. _____
13. _____ 35. _____
14. _____ 36. _____
15. _____ 37. _____
16. _____ 38. _____
17. _____ 39. _____
18. _____ 40. _____
19. _____ 41. _____
20. _____ 42. _____
21. _____ 43. _____
22. _____ 44. _____

GO TO NEXT PAGE

Are there any persons you know who like any of the singers or groups you listed on the blue page?

___ yes
___ no
___ don't know

Go To
Next Page

Who are these persons? Please list each one on a separate line below by writing his full name. To the right of each name, draw a circle indicating whether that person is a PARent, BROther or SISter, OTHer KID or SOMEone ELSE.

Then, in the box to the far right of each person, write the numbers of the singers or groups you think that person likes. Use the numbers from the lines where you wrote your favorites on the blue page.

Don't forget to answer the question at the bottom of the page, too.

_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	
_____	PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE	

Have you talked with any of the persons about about your favorite singers or musical groups during the past seven days?

___ yes
___ no

Please write an "X" in front of their names.

Go To
Next Page

Is there anything you would like to find out about your favorite singers or musical groups?

___yes
___no

What would you like to find out?_____

_____

_____

Have you read anything during the past seven days having to do with your favorite singers or groups?

___yes
___no

Write the number of each singer or group you have read about in a separate box below. Use the numbers from the lines where you wrote your favorites on the blue page.

To the right of each favorite, circle where you read about it--in a MAGazine, NEWSpaper, BOOK, RECord COVer, or SOMEplace ELSE. Circle as many places as apply.

☐	MAG	NEWS	BOOK	REC COV	SOME ELSE
☐	MAG	NEWS	BOOK	REC COV	SOME ELSE
☐	MAG	NEWS	BOOK	REC COV	SOME ELSE
☐	MAG	NEWS	BOOK	REC COV	SOME ELSE
☐	MAG	NEWS	BOOK	REC COV	SOME ELSE
☐	MAG	NEWS	BOOK	REC COV	SOME ELSE
☐	MAG	NEWS	BOOK	REC COV	SOME ELSE
☐	MAG	NEWS	BOOK	REC COV	SOME ELSE
☐	MAG	NEWS	BOOK	REC COV	SOME ELSE

Do you ever tune in to hear your favorite singers or groups on radio--at home, in a car, or elsewhere?

___yes
___no

Go To
Next Page

About how often do you do this?

___5 or more times a day
___3 or 4 times a day
___1 or 2 times a day
___every other day
___less often

Do you usually listen to your favorites on the radio with other persons, or do you usually listen by yourself?

___usually listen with others
___listen as often by myself as with others
___usually listen by myself

Do you ever play records of your favorite singers or groups--at home or elsewhere?

___yes ——— About how often do you do this?
___no

___3 or more times a day ___every other day
___1 or 2 times a day ___less often

Do you usually play records of your favorites with other persons, or do you usually play records by yourself?

___usually play records with others
___play records as often by myself as with others
___usually play records by myself

Do you ever tune in television to see your favorite singers or groups, or to hear your favorite songs?

___yes ——— About how often do you do this?
___no

___at least once a day ___1 or 2 times a week
___every other day ___less often

Do you usually watch your favorites on television with other persons, or do you usually watch by yourself?

___usually watch with others
___watch as often by myself as with others
___usually watch by myself

Do you form impressions of other persons depending on what music they like or dislike?

___yes, I often do this
___yes, I sometimes do this → What other persons do you form impressions about? Circle as many as apply.
___no, I never do this
___I don't know

PAR BRO-SIS OTH KIDS SOME ELSE

Do other persons form impressions about you depending on what music they think you like or dislike?

___yes, others often do this
___yes, others sometimes do this → What other persons form impressions about you? Circle as many as apply.
___no, others never do this
___I don't know

PAR BRO-SIS OTH KIDS SOME ELSE

Is it easier to decide what new music you like if you have a chance to talk with other persons about it?

___easier to decide → What other persons do you talk with? Circle as many as apply.
___not easier to decide
___I don't know

PAR BRO-SIS OTH KIDS SOME ELSE

Go to Next Page

About how often do you talk with other kids about singers, musical groups or their songs?

____at least once every day ____every other day ____1 or 2 times a week ____less often

When you do talk about music, how often do you find that other kids like different singers, groups or songs than you like?

____often ____sometimes ↓

____almost never ——→ Go To Next Page

When you talk with other kids about music. . .	(Circle one answer for each question: OFTen, SOMEtimes, ALMost NEVer, DON't KNow.)			
How often do you find out something new that you didn't already know about singers, groups or songs?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
How often do you say that you agree about what music is good, rather than risk making someone upset with you?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
How often do you find that the discussion is a good way to find out more about others, as persons?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
How often do you express your ideas about what music you like, or dislike?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
How often do you tell others something they didn't already know about singers, groups or songs?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
How often do you say which music you like, or dislike--even though others might disagree?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN

↓ ↓

When you talk with other kids about music, and differences of opinion come up, how often:				
do you discuss these differences?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
do you change the topic to something else?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
do you try to change other kids' opinions?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
do you end the conversation, or leave?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
do you stay out of the discussion, as much as possible?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN
do you change your own opinions?	OFT	SOME	ALM NEV	DON KN

Now, here are some different questions.

Did you attend the concert given by the Seattle Symphony a few days ago?

___yes → Is there anything about symphony music or musicians that you would like to find out?

___no

___can't remember

Go To Page 9

___yes

___no

What would you like to find out?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Think for a moment about the music you heard at the concert. Are there any persons you know who liked almost all of the concert music--if they attended--or would have liked almost all of the music--if they had attended?

___yes

___no

___don't know

Who are these persons? Please list each one on a separate line below by writing his full name. To the right of each name, draw a circle indicating whether that person is a PARent, BROther or SISter, OTHer KID, or SOMEone ELSE.

_____ PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE

_____ PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE

_____ PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE

_____ PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE

_____ PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE

_____ PAR BRO-SIS OTH KID SOME ELSE

Did you talk with any of the persons above about the concert?

___yes → Please write an "X" in front of their names.

___no

Now, think about how YOU feel about the concert. How muchoof the music did you like?

___very little of the music

___some of the music

___most of the music

___almost all of the music

___I don't know

Think back for a moment to before you attended the concert. At that time, how much of the music did you think you would like?

___almost all of the music

___most of the music

___some of the music

___very little of the music

___I didn't know how much I would like

Now, we'd like to ask some questions about things you may have done in the last few weeks.

Did you listen to any records of some of the music on the concert program any time during the last few weeks?

____yes ——→ Did you listen to one record containing concert music, or did you listen to more than one record?

____no → Go To Next Page

____one record
____more than one record

Where did the record, or records you heard come from?

_____

When was the first time you listened to a record containing music from the concert?

____between the concert and today
____one or two days before the concert
____a week before the concert
____two weeks before the concert
____longer ago than that
____can't remember

Was that the only time you listened, or did you listen other times, as well?

____that was the only time I listened
____I listened other times, as well
____can't remember

At any time, did you listen to a record with someone else?

____yes
____no
____can't remember → Go To Next Page

Thinking back to all the times you listened --either once, or more than once--what persons did you listen with? Circle as many as apply.

PARent TEAcher OTHer ADult

BROther-SISter OTHer KID SOMEone ELSE

Are you presently enrolled in any music class at school--like band, orchestra, chorus--that sort of thing?

____yes
____no

Which sentence below best describes you? Check only one.

____I have never tried to play a musical instrument
____I have tried to play a musical instrument, but only a few times
____I play a musical instrument, but not very often
____I play a musical instrument quite often

→ What instrument or instruments do you play?

_____

At the present time, do you sing in some musical group outside of school?

____yes
____no

Have you watched a symphony concert on television any time during the last year?

____yes → How often have you done this in the last year?_____
____no

Do you ever tune in to hear music on the radio like the music you heard at the concert?

____yes → How often do you usually do this?
____no

____at least once a week
____a few times a month
____less often than that

Do you ever play records like the music you heard at the concert?

____yes → How often do you usually do this?
____no

Go To Next Page

____at least once a week
____a few times a month
____less often than that

You can get a FREE booklet about symphony.

The Seattle Symphony has two different booklets:

Listening to Symphonies--a guide to understanding and enjoying symphonic music

Seattle Symphony Musicians--how they got their training and how they work

Pick the one you want (there aren't enough copies to send both to every person). Tear off the post card below, fill it out, and drop it in the mail. It's already stamped.

Indicate the booklet you want by marking an "X" in front of one of the titles.

To: Seattle Symphony Orchestra

Please mail me the booklet I have indicated.

( ) Listening to Symphonies--a guide to understanding and enjoying symphonic music.

( ) Seattle Symphony Musicians--how they got their training, and how they work.

My name_____

Address_____

City/State/Zip_____